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A F R I C A

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OBITUARY

MEMBERS of the Institute will have heard with regret of the death of Governor Félix Eboué in the French Hospital in Cairo on 17 May.

Born of African stock at Cayenne in French Guiana in 1884, Monsieur Eboué studied at the Lycée at Bordeaux and then entered the École Coloniale in Paris and obtained his degree in law. His first appointment took him to the Colony of Oubangui in French Equatorial Africa, where for twenty-five years he occupied various administrative posts. In 1932 he was appointed Chief Secretary of the Government of Martinique, and after a short period of service in the French Sudan he became Governor of Guadeloupe in 1936. In 1938 he returned to Africa as Governor of Chad Colony, and in 1940 was appointed Governor-general of French Equatorial Africa.

His genuine sympathy with the people under his administration and his natural understanding of the African enabled him to do outstanding work in all the territories with which he was connected. While in Guadeloupe he was responsible for a programme of important social reforms. In Africa he pursued a policy in which the interests of the native community were always in the forefront. The way in which he developed cotton-growing on a commercial scale in the Chad region commanded the respect and admiration of the experts. When he was appointed to the Governorship of Chad Colony he was warned that, in case of war, his territory might have to play an important role, and he lost no time in preparing the Colony for all eventualities. When France signed the Armistice, he hesitated not a moment in rallying to the cause of General de Gaulle. His prompt action was the signal for the French Cameroons and the whole of French Equatorial Africa to join the Allies.

This Institute had been in correspondence with Monsieur Eboué, who showed great interest in our work, and we were looking forward to a closer collaboration in which his experience would have been of the greatest help to us.

HANNS VISCHER

'Africa', the Journal of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, is published by the Institute, but except where otherwise stated the writers of the articles are alone responsible for the opinions expressed.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DESCENT IN TALE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

M. FORTES

Introductory

THE Tallensi of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast furnish data of special interest for the study of comparative social structure among the peoples of West Africa. Large as the ethnographic literature on West Africa is, it is singularly lacking in analytical data concerning social structure. Some of the most useful collections of ethnographic information on West African peoples thus lack the foundation without which a coherent picture of a society is impossible. Tables of kinship terms, enumerations of kinship usages, catalogues of marriage and inheritance customs, and such-like information are no more than the raw materials for the construction of a systematic representation of social structure. And very often the raw materials are not sufficient. There are plenty of bricks but no mortar. The reasons for such lacunae are obvious. A sympathetic amateur ethnographer can bring together material of inestimable value; but without a good theoretical grounding in modern social anthropology the field worker will not look for, and even if he stumbles across it, will not recognize the kind of material necessary for an understanding of social structure. He must, first of all, have the concept of a total social structure clearly in his mind; and he must look for the connexions, which are very often implicit, by which ostensibly discrete processes and institutions are related to one another in a meaningful pattern.

It is for this reason that we know very little about West African lineage systems, though the more recent literature indicates quite clearly that the lineage is one of the most stable, widespread, and fundamental units of social structure in West Africa.¹

The special interest of the Tallensi lies in their exceptionally clear-cut lineage system and in the all-embracing sweep it has in their social system. The whole of Tale society is built up round the lineage system. It is the skeleton of their social structure, the bony framework which shapes their body politic; it guides their economic life and moulds their religious ideas and values. The high degree of

¹ The lineage is clearly the basic unit of jural and political organization among the Ibo (*vide* C. K. Meek, *Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe*) and the Yakö (*vide* C. D. Forde, (a) 'Fission and Accretion in the Patrilineal Clans of a Semi-Bantu Community in Southern Nigeria', *J.R.A.I.* lxxviii, 1938, pp. 311-38; and (b) *Marriage and the Family among the Yakö*, London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 5, 1941) of south-eastern Nigeria. This appears to be the case also with the Gã of the Gold Coast (*vide* M. J. Field, *Social Organisation of the Gã*). It would appear to be the significant unit in respect of the laws of property, inheritance and succession, and legal responsibility among the matrilineal Akan peoples of the Gold Coast, as can be inferred from a careful reading of Rattray's classical monographs *Ashanti* and *Ashanti*

Law and Constitution side by side with J. B. Danquah's *Akan Laws and Constitution and Cases in Akan Law*. Mr. K. A. Busia's as yet unpublished field material confirms this inference for Ashanti. In Dahomey, as Herskovits shows clearly (*vide* M. J. Herskovits, *Dahomey*), the lineage principle plays a very important part in every phase of social and economic life, and this is true also of the Yoruba (*vide* W. R. Bascom, *The Sociological Role of the Yoruba Cult Group*, American Anthropologist Memoir Series, No. 63, 1944). The ethnographic literature of French West Africa shows that the lineage is probably the backbone of social structure among the Mole, Gurma, and Mandingo speaking tribes as is shown also in Rattray's *Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland* (*vide* Labouret, *Les Tribus du Rameau Lobi* and Monteil, C., *Les Bambarra du Segou et du Kaarta*).

stability and continuity of structure characteristic of Tale society rests on the lineage system. No aspect of Tale culture can be understood without a grasp of the principles that govern their lineage organization. It is the basis of their political and jurial relations, as has been shown elsewhere,¹ and the supreme regulating factor in all corporate activities. Built up on and continuously recreated by the flow of kinship relations, the lineage system at the same time determines the channels in which kinship relations move.²

Apart from its interest as a specimen of what is probably the typical West African patrilineal lineage pattern,³ the Tale lineage system is of general theoretical interest. There is first of all the ancient controversy about the family and the clan, or whatever the corporate unit may be that corresponds to the clan in the constituted framework of social structure. This centres round the question: Which comes first in time? Or, to transpose it into the current idiom of anthropological thought, which is source and which is consequence, the unilineal descent group or the family? An examination of this problem in the light of Tale material shows that it is at bottom an irrelevant one.⁴

The second theoretical problem on which Tale material sheds further light is that of the time factor in social structure. The concept of social structure postulates not only a rational and consistent relationship between the component parts of a social system, as Radcliffe-Brown constantly emphasizes,⁵ but an enduring pattern in the system of social relations. This may be a fixed pattern or an evolving pattern, but the notion of a rational and consistent relationship between the component parts of a social system *in time* as well as *at a given time* is implicit in the concept of structure. It is, however, a difficult methodological task to incorporate the time dimension (which, be it noted, is not the same as chronology) into a synchronic analysis of the social structure of a community without written records. The difficulty is least in societies which have well-defined lineage systems, as Evans-Pritchard and Forde have demonstrated.⁶ A lineage must be visualized both as a configuration at a given time and as a dynamic equilibrium in time. Tale material shows this very clearly. A Tale lineage always functions as a whole. Even when only part of a lineage emerges

¹ Vide M. Fortes, 'The Political System of the Tallensi' in *African Political Systems*, edited by M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard.

² A preliminary discussion of this subject was given in my paper on 'Kinship, Incest and Exogamy in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast', in *Custom is King*, Essays presented to R. R. Marett. Both the terminology used in that paper and the data offered are superseded by the present paper. A full analysis of the Tale lineage system is given in my forthcoming book *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, excerpts from which have been used in the present paper.

³ This is an hypothesis. But the Ibo, Yakö, Yoruba, and Dahomey data, referred to in a previous footnote, make it seem highly probable.

⁴ Forde in his *Marriage and the Family among the Yakö*, pp. 114-16, discusses this question and says that the Yakö family is 'not the nuclear kinship unit from which other larger units (i.e. lineages) are built up'. This, as he maintains, is probably true

of every society in which unilineal descent is recognized in the formation of corporate groups. But that is surely not the real issue, as can be seen from, e.g., Radcliffe-Brown's treatment of the subject (in his *Social Organisation of the Australian Tribes*) or Firth's analysis in *We, The Tikopia*. The family can be thought of as the 'origin' of kinship relations in the same way as the heart can be regarded as the 'origin' of the blood stream, though the heart would presumably be functionless without the whole circulatory system. Forde has, however, raised a theoretical problem of real importance for comparative studies of social structure, when he points out that the permanent and socially dominant structural machinery of kinship is the lineage and not the family, among the Yakö. This is true also of the Tallensi.

⁵ e.g. in his paper 'On the Concept of Function', *American Anthropologist*, vol. xxxvii, 3, 1935.

⁶ Vide E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, and Forde, *J.R.A.I.*, loc. cit.

in corporate activity, the total lineage field is subliminally present and influential. A Tale lineage is a configuration of social processes, not a static grouping. It is continuously becoming internally differentiated. At any given time it incapsulates,¹ all its relevant past states. Owing to the fact that non-agnates can never be absorbed into a lineage but can only become attached to it as clearly differentiated elements, the putative 'time depth' (Evans-Pritchard's term) and the contemporary span of a lineage are perfectly correlated.

In this paper, however, we are not concerned with the lineage system of the Tallensi in all its aspects. We deal only with the principles that govern lineage organization. These will be briefly and formally stated in the form of a paradigm. Something of this sort, though less systematic and abstract, is in the mind of every well-informed *Talay* when he discusses the structure of his society or takes part in public affairs. As the lineage is based on the rule of patrilineal descent, we shall go on to discuss this rule and the complementary principle of matrilineal kinship.

The Tallensi, it should be added,² though they number only 35,000, are typical of a considerable congeries of Mole-Dagbane speaking peoples in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast and in the Upper Volta region of the French Ivory Coast.³ All these peoples are sedentary cultivators. The farming system, based on mixed cropping, with millet and guinea corn as the staples, and a loose scheme of rotational fallowing, enables them to get only the barest livelihood out of the soil. The density of population is relatively heavy, varying between 100 and 200 to the square mile, throughout this area. The most cursory inspection shows that the country of the Tallensi and their neighbours has been continuously inhabited for a very considerable time. The evidence of ancestral graves shows that the older Tale settlements have certainly been occupied for at least eight to ten generations by their present inhabitants. The settlements do not form compact village units. Homesteads are scattered so as to leave land for farming around each homestead. But the structural basis of every settlement is a maximal lineage or an associated group of maximal lineages, at least in the older parts of the Zuarungu District, of which Taleland forms a part. The Tallensi, like most of the tribes of this region, have a markedly patrilineal and patriarchal social structure.

Paradigm of the Lineage System

A Tale lineage always functions as a system in which the behaviour of any part is regulated by its relationship to the whole, and the behaviour of the whole is determined by its component parts and the relations between them. This is the case whenever a lineage, or any part of one, emerges in social action. From the point of view of the Tallensi themselves, a lineage is an association of people of both sexes comprising all the known descendants by a known genealogy of a single known and named ancestor in an unbroken male line. From the sociologist's point of view, it is an association of people of both sexes comprising all the recognized descendants

¹ This illuminating concept defining the relationship of past and present in historical process comes from R. G. Collingwood's *Autobiography*.

² Further ethnographic details are given in my previously cited papers and in M. and S. L. Fortes, 'Food in the Domestic Economy of the Tallensi',

Africa, ix. 2, 1936; see also Rattray, *Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*.

³ These peoples occupy roughly the drainage area of the Volta River system in British and adjacent French territory.

by an accepted genealogy of a single named ancestor in a putatively continuous male line. It is, in other words, a strictly unilineal, agnatic descent group.

Lineages vary in *span* proportionately to the number of generations accepted as having intervened between the living members and the founding ancestor from whom they trace their descent. The lineage of minimum span—the minimal lineage—consists of the children of one father; the lineage of maximum span—the maximal lineage—is the lineage of widest span to which any one of its members belongs. It consists of all the descendants in the male line of the remotest common patrilineal ancestor known to the members of the lineage. Whenever we speak of a lineage without indicating its span, we use the term to mean a lineage of any span and any order of segmentation. What is meant by order of segmentation is defined below. The number of antecedent generations reckoned to the point of convergent ascent varies slightly from one maximal lineage to another in Taleland. It is proportional to and an index of the range of segmentary differentiation in the maximal lineage as it exists now. Eight to ten ascendant generations are usually reckoned between contemporary minimal lineages and the founding ancestor of the maximal lineage of which they are part.

Genealogies are not remembered for their own sake by the Tallensi. They are relevant primarily as the mnemonics of the lineage system, and are bound up with the institutions which demonstrate the formal unity or the internal differentiation of a lineage. Among the social events in which this occurs most conspicuously and frequently are sacrifices to ancestor spirits and mortuary and funeral ceremonies. The latter, especially, epitomize the entire social structure and enable one to see precisely how the lineage system is constituted.

All Tale lineages are hierarchically organized between the limits of the minimal lineage on the one hand, and the maximal lineage on the other. Thus every minimal lineage is a segment of a more inclusive lineage defined by reference to a common grandfather, and this, in turn, is a segment of a still wider lineage defined by reference to a common great-grandfather; and so on, until the limit is reached—the maximal lineage, defined by reference to the remotest agnatic ancestor of the group. A minimal lineage crystallizes out, so to speak, only on the death of its founder. Until then it is submerged in a wider lineage.

Within a lineage of whatever span, each grade of segmentation is functionally significant. Each segment has its focus of unity, and an index of its corporate identity, in the ancestor by reference to whom it is differentiated from other segments of the same order in the hierarchically organized set of lineages. Sacrifices to the shrine of this ancestor require the presence of representatives of every segment of the next lower order; and this rule applies to all corporate action, of a ceremonial or jural kind, by any lineage. This is the fundamental rule of lineage organization.

The solidarity of a lineage is a function of the co-operation of its major segments, the segments of the highest order. In matters that concern the lineage as a whole and in situations which express its corporate unity, members of the lineage co-operate as representatives of its major segments. The lesser segments constituting each major segment receive explicit recognition only in relation to the major segment. They emerge, then, as major segments of a major segment, and their segments, again, emerge only in relation to them, and so on down to the minimal segments. In these

affairs of common concern, rights and duties, privileges and obligations, are distributed equally among the major segments of a lineage, thus emphasizing their equality of status.

A lineage system of any span emerges in any of its activities as a system of aliquot parts, not as a mere collection of individuals of common ancestry; it represents an equilibrium maintained by the relations between its constituent parts. Thus its internal differentiation is of a limited and balanced kind. That is why only the minimal differentiation—a division into major segments—is recognized in the corporate activities of a lineage. In Tale theory, the source of this primary segmentation of the lineage is the minimal lineage, in which a group of brothers (two or more) are *differentiated* from one another as individuals, each of whom is the potential founder of a new lineage, but are *united* through their relationship to their common father. A pair of brothers having the same father (*sunzop*, sing. *sunzo*) are the potential originators of a pair of major segments of the lineage deriving from their father. So all major segments of a lineage of any span are visualized as being derived from brothers, sons of the lineage founder, and are described as *sunzop* to one another. Their lineage ties, summed up in the concept *sunzot* (brotherhood), are thought of as being founded on, and derived from, the ties which hold between brothers. By the rule of exogamy, women members marry out of the lineage, so they do not contribute to its perpetuation and do not affect its organization.

The growing point of the lineage is the family. It is always patrilocal; ideally, it is also polygynous. Thus children of the same man are differentiated from one another as children of different mothers. This provides a further criterion of differentiation within the lineage. Like the sons of different mothers and the same father, segments of a lineage may, in certain situations, be distinguished from one another by reference to their different progenitricies. In other situations, like sons of one mother, segments of a lineage may be grouped together by reference to a common progenitrix.

The rule is that whenever a lineage emerges as a corporate unit in its own right and not as a segment of a more inclusive lineage, it is identified by reference to its founding *ancestor*. The prototype of this is the notion of all the children of a man forming a unit of common descent in relation to their father, whether they are the children of one wife or of several wives. But when a lineage emerges as a segment of a more inclusive lineage it is identified by reference to its founding ancestor's *mother*. This serves to differentiate it from co-ordinate segments of the same patrilineal origin in the same way as the children of one man are genealogically distinguished *inter se* by reference to their several mothers. Within the patrilineal joint family the children of one woman have a much stronger bond of solidarity than the children of one man by different mothers. By derivation from this the identification of a lineage by reference to its progenitrix emphasizes its corporate solidarity in contraposition to other segments of the same patrilineal descent; whereas identification of a lineage by reference to its founding ancestor emphasizes its internal segmentation. The following diagram (Fig. 1) illustrates this rule.

A maximal lineage cannot, by definition, have any *sunzop* identified strictly in terms of common agnatic descent. If it had it would be a segment of a more inclusive lineage. The ancestor who founded it must be unique, in retrospect. He may be

accounted for by a myth, but his unique place in the genealogical tree can sometimes be naturalistically explained. If the formation of recent lineage segments is studied, it can be seen that segments sometimes die out, owing to the extinction of a branch of the lineage. When this happens, the surviving segments reach a new equilibrium. The defunct collateral line is forgotten in due course, together with its genealogy, for this no longer has any structural significance. Thus an existing maximal lineage may be merely the surviving segment of what might have been a wider maximal lineage.

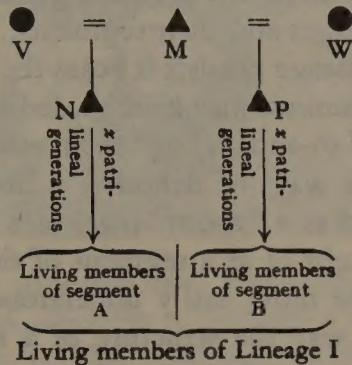


FIG. 1

x patrilineal generations of descent may be from one to seven or eight generations. Lineage I is identified as a corporate unit by reference to its founding ancestor M. Segments A and B are identified as segments of Lineage I by reference to their respective founding ancestresses, V and W.

It is characteristic of Tale social organization, however, that maximal lineages do often have *sunzop*, either through ties of clanship, or by incorporating, or being joined to, lineages not strictly of the same agnatic descent.

A lineage is a temporal system in equilibrium; continuity in time is its fundamental quality. Its constitution and dimensions at a given time represent a phase of a process which, as the Tallensi see it, has been going on in exactly the same way from the beginning of their social order and is continuing into the future. The contemporary phase of a lineage is more than a product of its past; while embodying all the significant changes that have occurred in it throughout its past, it is, at the same time, the embryo of its future organization. A Tale lineage cannot be dissociated from its temporal extension.

A maximal lineage is fixed with reference to its founding ancestor, who is the focus of its unity and the symbol of its corporate identity. From time to time, its unity and identity become explicit in the common cult of this ancestor and in the regulation of intra-lineage relations which hinges on it. The ancestor cult is the calculus of the lineage system, the mechanism by means of which the progressive internal differentiation of a lineage is ordered and is fitted into the existing structure. It is also the principal ideological bulwark of the lineage organization.

Every maximal lineage is continually expanding and proliferating through the fission of its segments. But though its span is thus constantly increasing, its form does not alter. It has a fixed centre and a fixed locus. It always remains the same lineage, and, in theory, new maximal lineages cannot arise through the splitting up

of an existing maximal lineage. It is a unit of common agnatic descent and no branch of it can ever repudiate this. In theory, ties of descent can never lapse. A maximal lineage is also an exogamous unit, and no branch of it can contract out of this bond.

To the contemporary observer, the Tale lineage system appears as a stable and finally established factor of the constituted social structure, the ground plan of which was laid down in the distant past by processes which are still going on. In any maximal lineage, therefore, the fission of minor segments does not alter the equilibrium of the major segments at any given time. Changes in minimal lineages, in fact, cannot alter the equilibrium of any segment greater than the minimal. This is reflected in the naming of lineages and their segments. Every lineage is named after its founder, and as long as a lineage persists it bears the same name. Thus the names of segments greater than the minimal may be regarded as fixed once for all. A lineage is called the 'children (*biis*) of so-and-so' or 'the house (*yir*) or people of the house (*yidem*) of so-and-so'. These ways of denoting a lineage are interchangeable. A lineage may also be described as a 'room' (*dug*) of a superordinate lineage. This indicates that it is being thought of as a segment of the latter.

This formal analysis will be more easily understood from the diagram (Fig. 2) which shows in a simplified way the structure of a major segment of a maximal lineage which is assumed to have only two major segments. The one not included must be homologous with the major segment depicted here, for a lineage necessarily divides into segments of equal order. The relations between the two major segments of our hypothetical maximal lineage are repeated, at a lower order of segmentation, in the relations between the sub-segments of each major segment. In the diagram the relations of sub-segments X and Y to each other, within the framework of major segment I, are identical in form with those of major segment I and its brother (*sunzo*) segment, major segment II, and this rule holds for every subsequent order of segmentation. The interests, rights, and obligations associated with such an ordered series of homologous intersegment relations vary in kind and number and are graded in precision.

If we describe a major segment of a maximal lineage as a *primary* segment, then segments of the order of X and Y in Fig. 2 may be called *secondary* segments, and Y is split into two sub-segments of the next lower order (*tertiary* segments) V and W. These have, respectively, two (*g* and *h+i*) and three (*k*, *m* and *n+o+p*) segments of still lower order; and some of these consist, as the diagram shows, of subordinate segments of the lowest order, i.e. minimal segments. X has no segments co-ordinate with V and W, but has four segments of the next lower order (*a+b*, *c*, *d+e*, and *f*) some of which are divided into minimal segments.

These are all ways of grouping the same thirty-five men in a set of lineages of common agnatic descent—women members being excluded from the diagram for the reason previously stated. In some situations, each grouping emerges as a lineage in its own right; in others it acts as a segment of a lineage of a higher order. When, for example, the 'house' (*yir*) of F.VI.1 (i.e. *a+b*) assembles to sacrifice to his spirit, it acts as a self-contained corporate unit, a lineage identified, in this situation, by reference to its founding ancestor. Both its segments, *a* and *b*, must be represented, and the animal sacrificed is divided equally between them. The portion given to segment *a* is then equally shared by F.VIII.1 and his brother's son F.IX.2—i.e. the



1. The Maximal Lineage is a corporate unit: The elders of a maximal lineage, representing all its component segments, assemble to perform a sacrifice on the grave of one of their founding ancestors. Note (a) that only men are present; (b) that the members of each segment sit together; (c) the close-packed form of the group, an index of the strong sense of lineage solidarity in such situations



2. The members of a minor segment of a maximal lineage gather at the homestead of the head of the segment to sacrifice to their immediate founding ancestor. 'Sisters' sons' of the segment have the right to be present. The sacrifice has been performed and the goat offered is now being divided up. The two 'sisters' sons' (nearest the camera, wearing caps) sit waiting for their portion of the meat. Note the active interest in the process of cutting up the goat taken by the members of the lineage, most of whom are standing up, by contrast with the passive interest of the 'sisters' sons' on the fringe



1. The domestic family is the matrix of kinship: A family party out lifting ground-nuts on the home farm. Their homestead is in the background. From right to left: The head of the family, his infant daughter, his adult son, the latter's wife and baby, the family head's wife and daughter



2. The patrilineal line: The paterfamilias, his oldest son (working in the distance), his two small sons, and two grandchildren out on the farm for the day .

two nascent segments of the House of F.VII.1. Actually, during the lifetime of F.VII.2, the head of the House of F.VI.1, segment a remains only a potential lineage, submerged in $a+b$.

The same rule holds for the higher orders of segmentation. The House of F.VI.1 is a segment (a 'room' identified, in this situation, by reference to its founding ancestor's mother) of the House of F.V.1—i.e. of the lineage X—when sacrifice is made to F.V.1. All the four segments of X must then be represented, and the animal slaughtered is divided equally among them, to be redistributed by each segment

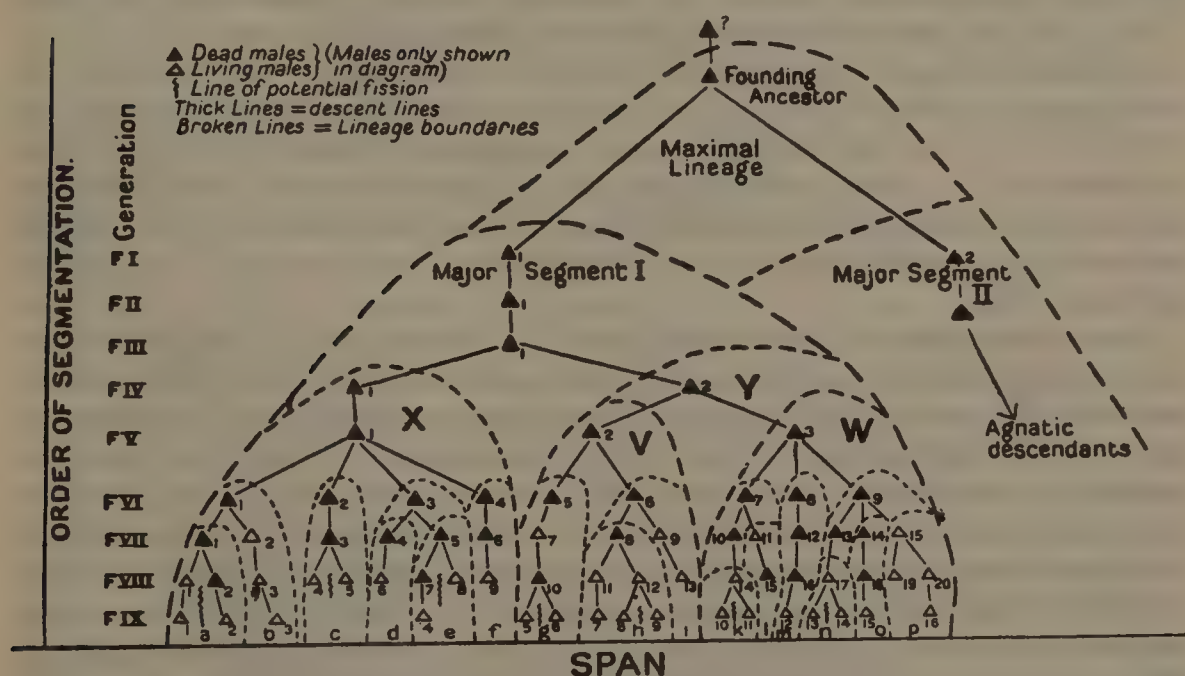


Diagram illustrating the Paradigm of the Lineage.

FIG. 2

among its sub-segments. F.VII.2 is head of lineage $a+b$ and sacrifices on their behalf to their immediate founder F.VI.1. He is also head of X sacrificing on behalf of all its four segments to F.V.1 and F.IV.1.

The minimum differentiation of X requires the recognition of the same four segments of equal status, whether F.IV.1 or F.V.1 be considered as the focus of the lineage, since there are no intermediate segments derived from F.IV.1. Contrast lineage Y, the minimal differentiation of which recognizes two segments of a higher order than the four which constitute X—i.e. of an intermediate order between the segments derived from F.III.1 (X and Y) and those derived from F.V.1, 2, and 3. The constitution of lineage X has the same form as that of the whole lineage, the agnatic posterity of F.III.1, of which it is a major segment.

In lineages thus constituted an ancestor who has no significance as a focus of differentiation from other co-ordinate lineages loses his structural relevance and has no distinct ancestor-shrine. He is merged with a predecessor who still symbolizes the focus of differentiation of the lineage, and often no doubt he fades into oblivion. In this way genealogies get telescoped and the ranking of structurally insignificant

ancestors gets confused. Thus major segment I would probably be named the House of F.I.1, after the ancestor who symbolizes their differentiation from the co-ordinate major segment derived from his 'brother', F.I.2. The tendency is to retain the ancestor to whose generation the fission of the segments can be most appropriately attributed when considering their present structural relationship. The naming, here, would fit in with the relations of the two major segments as representing the primary differentiation of the maximal lineage one generation nearer than the founding ancestor. Though F.II.1 and F.III.1 are still invoked in sacrifices, their order of succession tends to be confused. F.II.1 will lapse more easily than F.III.1, who will be remembered as the actual father of F.IV.1 and F.IV.2.

Similarly, lineage X will be described as the House of F.IV.1 when its status as a major segment of the House of F.I.1, co-ordinate with Y, is the main issue. But members of its constituent segments might also describe themselves collectively as the House of F.V.1, after the most recent ancestor from whom their lines of descent diverge, when stressing their connexion as 'rooms' of a single lineage. Which nomenclature is used depends on the situation and on the range of the lineage concerned in it.

These usages illustrate a deep-seated trait of Tale thought, the naming of social units by contraposition. They explain, also, why no historical validity can be attached to Tale genealogies, beyond the time of the great-grandfathers. A genealogy maps out a particular set of lineage relations, it is not a true record. Thus it is impossible to ascertain, as it is from the Tale point of view irrelevant to ask, whether or not any ancestors intervened between the founder of a maximal lineage such as is here sketched and the originators of its existing major segments. If there were any, it is quite possible that they have been dropped from the genealogy because they were redundant, in terms of the structure of the lineage. Similarly, the ancestor whose name is preserved as the founder of the maximal lineage may have been preceded by others whose names have lapsed from tradition for the same reason.

Lineages of the same order of segmentation are not all of equal span. Thus, lineage *c*—the House of F.VI.2—is co-ordinate with lineage *a+b*—the House of F.VI.1—but of a lesser span. Lineage X, similarly, has a lesser span than lineage Y. The span of a lineage is a measure of its internal differentiation, whereas its order of segmentation defines its relations, as a corporate unit, with other units of a like sort.

The distinction is important in the conduct of lineage and community affairs. Co-ordinate segments are *sunzop* to one another, irrespective of span; but a lineage of small span is more closely integrated than one of large span. Thus the major segments of our diagrammatic maximal lineage are *sunzop*, being descended, as it is thought, from a pair of brothers having the same father; so are lineages X and Y; so are V and W; so are the four constituent segments of X, the two constituent segments of V, and the three constituent segments of W; the same rule holds for the lesser lineages down to a pair of brothers, such as lineage *c*, who are also *sunzop*.

It is evident that *sunzop* can be graded according to their genealogical distance from one another. The Tallensi say, *ti a ba yenni biis* (we are the children of one father) when they want to stress common ancestry, or *ti a yaab yenni biis* (we are the children of one ancestor) whenever they emphasize remote common ancestry. The same distinction is expressed in the appellations *dug* (room) and *yir* (house). Members

of lineage V, for example, will speak of themselves as *dugdem*—members of one room—by contrast with members of lineage W, whom they would describe as *ti yidem*—people of our house. Members of X will say, ‘we, the children of so and so (F.IV.1) are four rooms’, but they will speak of themselves as *dugdem* in contrast to Y, who would be called their *yidem*, for example, at funeral ceremonies. The designation ‘*dug*’ is commonly associated with the identification of the lineage by reference to its progenitrix; the term ‘*yir*’ with its identification by reference to its founding ancestor. Thus the segments of X or of Y are closer *sunzop* than are X and Y, which, again, are closer *sunzop* than are the major segments of the maximal lineage. A specially close tie is acknowledged also between lineages of common agnatic ancestry which have a common ancestress. Thus, if F.V.1 had three wives from whom have sprung respectively, segments $a+b$ and c , $d+e$, and f , then the first two segments regard each other as closer *sunzop* than either of the other two.

The connexion between genealogical distance and the *sunzot* tie is most clearly seen in situations which bring out the structural equilibrium of the lineages. When, for instance, a funeral occurs in segment g , contributions of cooked food will be made by the *sunzop* as follows: by the head of $h+i$, the closest *sunzo* segment, on behalf of that segment; by the head of W on behalf of the whole lineage, not by its constituent segments, the contribution being given to its *sunzo* V, not to the segment g ; and by the head of X, if it is the funeral of an elder, on behalf of the whole of X, when the recipient unit is considered to be Y, not g . If the other half of the maximal lineage, major segment II, sends a contribution, it will be given by the head of the segment on behalf of the whole unit as an obligation owed to the *sunzo* segment, the House of F.I.1. Cooked food, beer, and the meat of ceremonially slaughtered animals are distributed according to the same scale of genealogical distance, and the allocation of ritual duties, though less strictly regulated, depends on it, too. Hence any members of W who may be present at the funeral are regarded as representing W, however many segments of W they may individually represent. They are entitled only to those portions of food and beer and meat which are the due share of W. An identical share may be claimed by members of X who are present, whether they come from one of its segments or from all; and the same holds for the major segments of the maximal lineage. *Sunzot* here implies duties and privileges vested in the lineage as a corporate unit and exercised on its behalf by any representative of that unit in relation to other units of a like sort.

The tie of *sunzot* operates in the same way and is recognized according to the same rules in all corporate actions and in relation to all corporate interests of a lineage. It dictates the manner in which every activity associating people in groups is organized. Hoeing and building teams organize their work roughly along the lines of the lineage structure, and distribute the food they receive as reward in accordance with it. In a hunting party, lineage *sunzop* have a right to ‘pull out’ (*fo*) a foreleg of any animal killed by a member of a *sunzo* lineage. But here we have been concerned only with the paradigm of the lineage system, a mere definition of the fundamental concept of Tale social organization.

There is one last point which should be stressed. When a lineage emerges in corporate activities it functions, not as a collection of individuals, but as an internally differentiated structural unit. A man does not take part in such activities as a member

of the whole agnatic descent group involved, but as a member of a particular segment of the lineage concerned. The components of a lineage are visualized as lineage segments, not as individuals, even though, in a particular situation, some or all of the lineage segments may be represented by only one person each. Thus to turn to the diagram (Fig. 2) the thirteen male members of lineage segment X are not all on equal terms in corporate activities involving this lineage as a whole. The individual designated F.VIII.9 himself constitutes a sub-segment (*f*) of this lineage, of the same order as *a* and *b* combined. He has rights and duties corresponding to those vested in the whole sub-segment *a+b*, and is therefore on an equal footing with the head of that sub-segment, F.VII.2. The individuals F.IX.1, 2, and 3 have no personal *locus standi* in corporate activities; they take part as members and representatives of the subsegment *a+b*.

The Connexion between Kinship and the Lineage System

We have described the morphology of the lineage system without reference to the domestic organization of the Tallensi, but these two planes of social structure cannot be isolated from each other in the actual life of a Tale community or individual. The *Talɛ* lives his life as a member of a lineage and a member of a family. It is true that the interests and ends—primarily economic and reproductive—which the family subserves differ significantly from those—primarily jural and ritual—which the lineage subserves. But the two categories are co-ordinated and integrated. The individual's rights and duties, sentiments and values, manners and moral conduct, all his thinking, feeling, and acting in the context both of lineage and of family relations, are organically integrated, as are lineage and family.

The interpenetration of lineage and family appears most clearly from the way segmentation in the domestic family is parallel to and regulated by segmentation in the lineage. Families divide along the lines of lineage cleavage. Their local and functional grouping corresponds to the agnatic distance from one another of the family heads, and their social relations with one another depend upon this fact.

Since kinship forms the nexus between the domestic organization of the Tallensi and their lineage system, they apply the concepts of kinship to describe and define both domestic and lineage relations. In the social structure as a whole, kinship is the fundamental bond. It furnishes the primary axioms of all categories of inter-personal and inter-group relations.

From the standpoint of the individual, all the norms and conditions which govern his social behaviour fall within a single, syncretic frame of reference, of which kinship forms the base-line.

The alignment of individuals and groups in accordance with material, jural, or ideological interests follows genealogical lines. The Tallensi do not have one category of social relations for economic ends, another for jural and political purposes, and a third for religious purposes, with only adventitious connexions between the three. Their economic, jural, political, and religious institutions interlock and determine one another; and they do so because they have a common foundation in the genealogical structure of the society. With few exceptions, social relations among the Tallensi always have a genealogical coefficient.

It is essential to distinguish two kinds of genealogical ties among the Tallensi.

There are, firstly, cognatic ties, ties of actual or assumed physical consanguinity and of the social relations entailed by them, which link person to person or an individual to a lineage or one lineage to another in a specifically defined and particular bond. Such ties may be traced through males only, through females only, or through both males and females. Secondly, there are lineage ties, social relations based on the tie of common agnatic descent.

Cognatic kinship and agnatic kinship have different, and in some situations, even opposed functions in Tale collective life. The distinction turns on the principle that agnatic ties unite people in corporate groups serving common interests and held together by common values, whereas cognates do not necessarily¹ form corporate groups. Cognates have mutual interests, bonds of sentiment and of reciprocal obligations, but not necessarily common interests. All the members of a given lineage have the same agnatic kin and therefore identical lineage ties; but only identical siblings—that is, brothers or sisters by the same parents—have the same cognatic kin, and then only until the time when they become parents. By making him a member, automatically, of a maximal lineage and clan, his agnatic descent fits the individual into the constituted framework of Tale society. This gives him also a special field of defined social relations with clear contours. Cognatic kinship creates a number of contingent social ties for the individual. Unlike lineage ties, they differ in quality; they change in the course of his lifetime; in theory, their range is indeterminate, since there is no limit to the reckoning of cognatic kinship. Tallensi often discover kindred of whom they were previously ignorant in the most unexpected places in their own country, even in their own clan. But it is extremely rare for anyone to discover a hitherto unknown clansman even in these days of relatively great mobility.

Cognatic kinship has an extraordinarily wide ramification among the Tallensi. They maintain, and genealogies of individuals bear this out, that if enough were known of the genealogical relationships of the people of adjacent settlements, they would all be found to be related to one another. In the clan itself, under the surface of its strict patrilineal organization, the filaments of cognatic kinship bind individuals together by special personal bonds which operate independently of lineage ties. This complex and unlimited ramification of cognatic kinship gives these relations great fluidity, in contrast to the comparative fixity of lineage relations. Individuals are often connected by multiple cognatic ties which are differentially effective in different situations; and cognatic ties make breaches in the barriers of lineage and clan exclusiveness, thus extending widely the flow of social relations.

The domestic family is the matrix of all the genealogical ties of the individual, the contemporary mechanism for ever spinning new threads of kinship, and the focal field of social relations based on consanguinity. In it we can observe the working of the nuclear patterns of kinship and the formation of the ideas and values which steer the individual in all his genealogical relationships. In the domestic family we get the sharpest picture of the interaction between cognatic kinship and agnatic ties. We have there the elementary ties of cognatic kinship linking parent to child and sibling to sibling, and we have also the agnatic tie which sets apart the males as the

¹ It must be remembered that agnates are also cognates; cognates *who are not agnates* do not form corporate groups.

nuclear lineage. We can see the centrifugal pull of matrilineal kinship counterbalancing the centripetal pull of patriliney, and so producing the primary equilibrium of Tale social life.

Through his primary relations of consanguinity in the domestic family, the individual is linked to agnates of his clan in other families and to cognates in other families and other clans. There is, however, one significant difference between intra-familial and extra-familial bonds of kinship. Unlike the latter, the former are double-sided, each relationship containing within itself both an agnatic and a cognatic component. In a joint family of three generations, for example, a child's relationship with its father differs from its relationship with its grandfather or its mother. These are all cognatic relationships. There is a tension and latent rivalry in the relationship of father and son which stands in marked contrast to the comradeship of grandfather and grandson. On the other hand, grandfather, father, and son belong to the same lineage, and are united by a common interest in patrimonial land and in the product of their joint labour, by a common ancestor cult, by rights and duties vested in that lineage in relation to like segments of a greater lineage, and by their common concern for the continuity of their line. These are part of the whole complex of common interests and values which mobilizes corporate action and maintains corporate solidarity in the maximal lineage and clan of which they form a minor segment. Men of a joint family may have divided loyalties with reference to their cognatic relationships, but they act in union and on behalf of one another and of the whole unit in virtue of their lineage ties.

There is another paradox in the structure of the Tale family. Consanguineous relationships arise out of parenthood; but parenthood presupposes marriage, a union of a man and a woman who are, by definition, not kin.¹ The bonds of kinship are rooted in a bond the very essence of which is the absence of kinship. Hence comes the ambivalence inherent in intra-familial cognatic relations. Hence comes, also, another category of social relations both in the family and between members of different families and clans: relations of affinity. There are two axes, as it were, in the structure of the family, the axis of kinship and that of marriage.

The constellation of ties and cleavages which makes up the focal field of kinship is conditioned by the formative principles and the values which shape the greater society into which the domestic family fits and which it helps to knit together. All person-to-person relations in the family are biased by the values attached to patrilineal descent and to maternal origin in the total social structure.

The Generic Concept of Kinship

The generic concept of kinship among the Tallensi, expressed by the word *doyam*, subsumes all kinds and degrees of genealogical relationship, however remote, through one or more progenitors or progenitricies. But its primary reference is to procreation. One might perhaps translate it by the word 'generation' in its etymological sense. Its root, the verb *doy*, to bear or beget a child, signifies both the male and the female function in procreation. *Doyam*, the abstract noun, describes the process, or the act, or the biological capacity, of bringing a child into the world, as well as the ties thus created. The logic behind this concept of kinship is plain.

¹ This point is also stressed by Forde in *Marriage and the Family among the Yakö*.

Every genealogical relationship goes back eventually to one pair of parents. Both in fact and in Tale kinship theory, the parent-child bond is the nodal bond of kinship.

Now though the Tallensi see every genealogical relationship as a tie of physical consanguinity, this is not what matters most. More important are the social relations entailed by consanguinity. A genealogical tie between two people, or two genealogically defined units, comes into action in the palpable facts of economic life, jural relations, moral values, ceremonial duties, and ritual ideas and performances. Genealogical ties very often have economic or political utility and are sustained by powerful moral and religious sanctions. Much of Tale kinship custom is specific. In ceremonial situations, different categories of kin often behave in prescribed ways which sharply distinguish them from one another. But in the routine of ordinary life the intercourse of kinsfolk has no such formal pattern, and is often indistinguishable from the intercourse of friends, neighbours, or other associates. The significant thing, for the Tallensi, is not so much the prescribed pattern of conduct as the fact that all kinship is morally binding.

The Tallensi indicate this most clearly in their attitude to marriage. They draw a sharp distinction between *doyam* (kinship) and *dien* (in-law-ship). The crux of the rule of clan exogamy and of the collateral prohibition of marriage with any person consanguineously related—and no distinction is made between these two classes of restrictions—is the principle that *doyam* and *dien* are irreconcilably contradictory.¹ Marriage implies the absence of kinship ties between the parties, and kinship the impossibility of marriage. Kinship ties exist in their own right; *dien* is an *ad hoc* alliance of a contractual nature. The parties to a marriage deliberately and voluntarily enter into a bond, and are bound by rights and duties which did not exist before. Kinship ties are not voluntary, and are automatically binding, entailing moral, ritual, and jural obligations. In the relations of in-laws there is an avowed element of mutual coercion; they rely upon a special, impartial jural instrument, the bride-price, for the adjustment of their rival claims on the woman.

Tallensi think of *dien* as a relationship forever fraught with the possibility of conflict over these claims. Nearly all their litigation nowadays, like much inter-clan fighting in the past, concerns bride-price debts or the rival claims of father-in-law and son-in-law over a woman and her children. Such quarrels are incompatible with kinship; they would cut to pieces the solidarity of kinsfolk. That is why, say the Tallensi, kinsfolk are prohibited from marrying.

Doyam, in short, presupposes some degree of identification of the parties concerned, mutual or common interests, and especially a bond of amity excluding strife which might fix a permanent gulf between them. These norms of kinship the Tallensi regard as axiomatic, as the *a priori* moral premisses of their social behaviour. Behind the utility of kinship in practical life, and the jural and ritual sanctions that buttress kinship ties, stands the notion of kinship as the rock-bottom category of social relations, inviolable in its own right. The root of this notion lies in the theory of the parent-child bond, and it reflects the fact that genealogical relationship is the binding medium of Tale social structure. Tallensi take it for granted that the ideal norms of kinship will often be violated, but the lapses of individuals and the fact that

¹ Cf. my paper on 'Kinship, Incest and Exogamy' previously cited (p. 363, n. 2).

strong sanctions exist to check them, do not diminish the absolute, *a priori* character of kinship.

It is worth noting that economic reciprocity—which is a conspicuous element of kinship, especially among close kin—and jural rights and duties have a much less direct connexion with this fundamental assumption of kinship than have religious bonds. This is connected with the important place of ancestor worship in Tale society. In order to trace genealogical relationship it is necessary to recollect common ancestors; and if these have religious value, ritual allegiance to a common ancestor or ancestress inevitably forms an intrinsic feature of kinship ties and their most powerful sanction. The more distant a genealogical tie is, the more does it become a matter of moral and ritual, and not of jural or economic, relationship.

The idiom of kinship has such a dominant place in Tale thought that all social relations implying mutual or common interests tend to be assimilated to those of kinship. This happens, for example, with ties of local contiguity and of politico-ritual interdependence.

The starting-point for the wide recognition of kinship among the Tallensi lies in their notion that conception is impossible without sexual relations. In their view man and woman have an equally vital role in the act of conception. This is summed up in the maxim, 'A man and a woman together procreate a child' (*Bumpok ni buraa n-kab dɔya bii*). Hence kinship through one's mother and through any of her ascendants, counts equally with kinship through one's father and one's paternal line, though in different ways.

The Significance of Paternity and Patriliney

A person's genealogical ties are fixed by his parentage. The rights and duties which are critical for his role and status in society all stem, in the last resort, from the fact of birth. He cannot divest himself, or be divested, of the bonds created by his birth and yet remain a member of the society; nor can he fully and unconditionally acquire those bonds except by birth. No other ties can wholly supersede them in linking person to person and affiliating individuals to defined social groups.

But though a person acquires significant social ties through both parents, his agnatic relationships have an outstanding importance, particularly for a man. For not only is patrilineal descent the vertebral principle of Tale social organization and the vehicle of the continuity and stability of the social structure, but men hold the reins of authority, direct economic life, control the political organization, and are supreme in religious and ceremonial thought and action. From his father a man derives his right to inherit land and other property, his clan membership and the political rights and ritual obligations that go with it, and his ritual relations with his ancestors. A woman does not inherit or transmit land or other property of value, nor does she succeed to or transmit political or ritual office. But clan membership and the concomitant totemic observances, as well as her ritual allegiance to her ancestors, mean a great deal for her social destiny and for her children. Like many other pre-literate societies, the Tallensi distinguish between physiological and jural paternity—between *genitor* and *pater*, as Radcliffe-Brown puts it. However, the Tallensi feel very strongly that a person's physiological father is his right jural father. The assumption is that all the social attributes which come to a child from his father

should come from a father who both begot him and recognizes him as legitimate offspring. Thus there is a tendency for conflict to arise if a person's physiological and jural paternity do not coincide. Such a person tends to be penalized in respect of his social status, for jural paternity by itself cannot altogether take the place of physiological-cum-jural paternity.

The conflict is least severe in the case of an adulterine child, who is always accepted as the rightful child of its mother's husband. No difficulty at all arises in the case of a daughter, since she marries out of the lineage as soon as she is nubile. An adulterine son has complete and unreserved filial status. He has full rights of inheritance, of succession, and of ritual access to his putative patrilineal ancestors. Nevertheless, the blot on the scutcheon is not without effect; it is often the underlying cause of friction between a man and his jural, but not physiological, father or brothers.

This kind of friction is said not to occur in the infrequent case of a child begotten in permitted extra-marital intercourse, which the Tallensi do not regard as adultery (*poyambon*). A man who is sterile or impotent may allow his wife to conceive by another man. Tale sentiment takes no cognizance of physical paternity in this situation; one might almost describe it as, from their point of view, a kind of artificial insemination.

But take the case of an unmarried girl's child (*yi yiem bii*) which is brought up as the foster-child of her father or brother. If the child is a girl, no difficulties will occur, as she will eventually get married and Tale kinship ideas permit her children to regard her mother's lineage as their nearest matrilineal kin. She will even be permitted to marry into her mother's clan, provided it is a different major segment of the clan. Many instances of this are on record, for no stigma attaches to anybody concerned.

An illegitimate boy will grow up to all intents and purposes as a child of his mother's father's or brother's family, and as a full member of the clan. He will be treated exactly like other sons of the family, whom he will call his brothers. But he has two fundamental disabilities which nothing can overcome and which pass, by the principle of the corporate identity of the lineage, to his agnate male descendants. He has no right to inherit his quasi-father's patrimonial estate, though he may be permitted to do so failing other heirs; and he has no right to sacrifice directly to the latter's spirit, or consequently, to the lineage ancestors. He cannot, therefore, succeed to the custody of the lineage ancestor shrines or hold an office vested in the lineage. The tie of true agnatic descent, which alone confers these rights, cannot be fabricated. An illegitimate boy's status in the lineage is, in fact, therefore, inferior to that of his quasi-brothers. He is always liable to a certain amount of covert contempt, though good manners forbid mention of his irregular descent. His lot may be harder, if he has an intractable character, than that of a sister's son (*ahay*) living with his mother's brother (*ahab*), for the latter has a home of his own to fall back upon, where he is entitled, by right of legitimate descent, to his patrimonial inheritance, protection, and communion in the ancestor cult. In no circumstances, however, can an illegitimate son be deprived of those rights that belong to him. His quasi-father's home is his home, his mother's clan his clan. From him may spring an accessory lineage of the clan. In theory, also, he may marry a daughter of his

adoptive clan, but I know of no case in which this has occurred; presumably public sentiment would be against it.

The status of a male slave (*da'abar*) in former times was similar, though in some respects less advantageous. In order that slaves might be fitted into the social structure, they were incorporated into the family and lineage of their owners by being placed under the spiritual guardianship of one of their owner's lineage ancestors' shrines. This gave them a quasi-filial status of the same kind, with the same rights and disabilities, as that of an illegitimate son. Analogously, the status of a slave girl (*da'abpak*) resembled that of an illegitimate daughter.

Tallensi declare that it would be disgraceful and immoral to treat a slave or an illegitimate son or brother differently from true agnatic kin. But they also affirm that, nevertheless, a slave or an illegitimate son cannot possibly become a son or a brother in the full sense of those terms. He can be to you *in loco filii* or *fratris*, but not *filius* or *frater*, since he cannot sacrifice directly to his quasi-father's spirit, or inherit, as of right, his patrimony. The principle at issue is that physical father and social father, *genitor* and *pater*, must be the same person. The vicissitudes of marriage illustrate the same point. It often happens that a young woman becomes the bride of one man, is later married to another man, by whom she has a child, and finally returns to settle down with her first husband. The second husband (or his heir) then has the right, at any time during its life, to redeem his begotten child by paying over to the woman's father a proportion of the bride-price equal to one cow, whether or not he has completed the formalities of marriage. His right rests upon the fact of the child's acknowledged paternity. Moreover, a man who was begotten by a former husband of his mother and grows up in the home of her final husband but is not redeemed by his *genitor*, has the right to go to his *genitor's* home and claim all the rights of a son. To regularize the position, he may himself pay the cow of redemption to his mother's father's heirs.

The Ritual Coefficient of Patriliney

All these cases of irregular paternity bring out a point of central importance in Tale thought. The bonds of physical consanguinity and the concomitant social ties created by parenthood are *ipso facto* spiritual and moral bonds. They have a ritual coefficient in which the people see their deepest meaning. One's bond with one's patrilineal ancestors is a ritual bond with them and with the other mystical forces associated with the existence and well-being of the lineage. On them depends the course of one's whole life. Legitimate paternity is a *sine qua non* for a right relationship with one's agnatic ancestor spirits. There is a spiritual hiatus between an illegitimate son or a slave's son and his adoptive lineage ancestors. Being only accidentally, as it were, under their tutelage, he cannot use them to master the vicissitudes and frustrations of life as freely as may a true scion of their line. Political and ritual office can be held only by men who are legitimate members of the lineage in which these offices are vested; and the sanction for this lies in the key functions of these offices in the cult of the ancestors and of the other mystical powers coupled with the lineage.

All social relations in which agnatic descent has a decisive function have this ritual coefficient. Legitimate paternity is bound up with the exclusive rights over his wife's

reproductive powers conferred on a man by marriage. A child's legitimacy is jeopardized if it is conceived or born in a situation in which its father's marital rights do not prevail. Hence, sexual intercourse between a man and his wife (and, by extension, between any man who is a near agnate of the husband and any woman who is a close agnate of the wife) at her paternal home is rigorously tabooed. For in her father's house a woman has the status of a daughter, and comes under her father's authority and the tutelage of his ancestors. For the same reason, a child must not be born in the house of its maternal uncle. Its ties with its maternal kin must not be confounded with its bonds with its paternal kin, for these represent opposed forces in its social world, and matrilineal kinship ties must not be allowed to become a threat to lineage ties. It is to obviate this that custom forbids a man to demand his daughter's bride-price if she is pregnant.

A woman bears a child to her husband, an additional member for his lineage and clan. When she conceives, it is the right and duty of her husband and his family to care for her; his ancestor spirits must guard her and the unborn child, and the child must be born under its father's roof, literally into the lineage to which it comes as a profit (*yoor*) and a responsibility, and under the auspices of its patrilineal ancestors, the spiritual arbiters of its destiny, to whom it will later in life bring sacrifices. Ideally, it should also grow up under its father's roof.

The Significance of Maternal Parentage and the Uterine Line

Though paternity is overwhelmingly dominant in the jural, economic, and ritual constitution of Tale society, it would be surprising if maternal origin had no institutional function in the social organization and ideology. In fact, as we have seen in our analysis of the lineage system, the two principles of patrilineal descent and maternal origin are always complementary in their action. This is characteristic of their relationship in all Tale institutions.

One indication of the sociological significance of maternal origin is the quality of the bond between mother's brother (*ahab*) and sister's son (*ahay*), either of the first degree or in a classificatory sense. A person's own maternal uncle (*ahab*) and maternal grandfather (*yaab*) and their immediate lineage segment impinge directly and frequently on his life. His maternal uncle's home is his own second home; he has a quasi-filial status there, and, in addition to close bonds of sentiment with his uncle and his close kin, he has specific ceremonial rights and duties in relation to them. Though he has no property, succession or inheritance rights in his uncle's home, a man has special material privileges there, which express his quasi-filial status. They show that he is equated with a son in sentiment, while strictly differentiated from a son in jural terms. The kinship tie between sororal nephew and maternal uncle is an important breach in the genealogical wall enclosing the agnatic lineage; it is one of the main gateways to social relations with members of other clans.

But the recognition accorded to the mother's agnatic kin does not bring out the deeper implications of maternal origin as the complement of paternal origin. These implications are contained in the concept *soog* (pl. *saarat* or *sooret*) which involves the idea of matrilineal as the counterpoise of patrilineal descent. In its range of efficacy, its mode of operation, its jural and ritual value, and its emotional connotation, matrilineal descent stands in contrast to patriliney.

For obvious reasons, the bond of consanguinity with one's mother is unique and unalterable. It has also a peculiarly personal quality which is emphasized by the fact that one's jural status is not derived from one's mother. Your mother may desert your father and leave you to be reared (*ugh*) by another woman; you may feel some resentment over this all your life, but she remains your true mother, 'the mother who bore you' (*ma doyarug*). Nothing can alter this fact or extinguish the kinship ties which arise from it.

The concept *soog* has definite emotional implications, but here we are concerned with its biological and social implications. To the Tallensi, *soog* means a bond of consanguinity which excludes completely any reckoning with lineage affiliation. People who are *saarat* define themselves as 'the offspring of one woman', or, in the actual Tale phraseology, 'to have come from one vagina' (*yi pen yeni*).

Saarat, therefore, are uterine kin, and the uterine tie between mother and child corresponds to the agnatic bond between father and child; children of one woman are *saarat* irrespective of their paternity. A woman may have children by different men of the same clan or of different clans; they are *saarat* irrespective of their clan affiliation.

Soog is more than the bond of personal kinship between mother and child, and between siblings by the same mother. It is the bond of uterine descent perpetuated through the female line in the same way as the bond of agnatic descent is transmitted through the male line. Uterine siblings are *saarat*; uterine sisters' children are *saarat* (but not uterine brothers' children, for the children of men are not their father's *saarat*); uterine female cousins' children are *saarat*; and so on, theoretically without limit, as the following diagram shows:

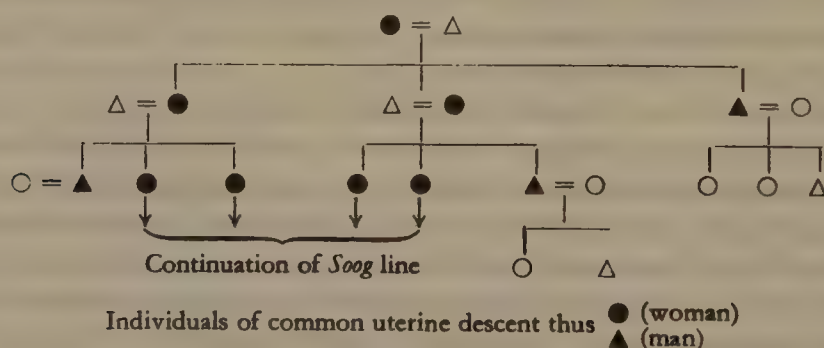


FIG. 3

In short, people of common matrilineal descent are socially identified with one another.

As a result of the social recognition of the matrilineal line, *saarat* have defined ways of behaving towards one another, and further, the fact of matrilineal descent is given an institutional embodiment. Matrilineal descent confers distinctive social attributes on people. In this, Tale culture follows the rule found in most other West African cultures where both lines of descent are recognized. The dominant line of descent confers the overtly significant attributes of social personality—jural status, rights of inheritance and succession to property and office, political allegiance, ritual privileges and obligations; and the submerged line confers certain spiritual

characteristics. Among the Tallensi, it is easy to see that this is a reflex of the fact that the bond of uterine descent is an inter-personal bond. It does not subserve common interests of a material, jural, or ritual kind; it unites individuals by ties of mutual interest and concern not unlike those that prevail between close collateral kin in our culture. While it constitutes one of the factors that counter-balance the exclusiveness of the agnatic line, it does not create corporate groups competing with the agnatic lineage and clan. Carrying only a spiritual attribute, the uterine tie cannot undermine the jural and politico-religious solidarity of the patrilineal lineage.¹

The critical spiritual attribute carried by the *soog* line is the potentiality of being a witch (*soi*, pl. *soob*—a term evidently cognate with *soog*). This potentiality adheres only to the female line and defines that line in social terms. 'This is my *soog*', a person usually says when introducing a uterine relative. 'If he (or she) flies magically (*ayət*) I, too, fly magically; if he sees magically (*nye*) I, too, see magically.' The potentiality of being a witch is hereditary in the female line. A woman's son and daughter are both witches if she is a witch. If a person is accused of being a witch, all his or her *saarat* are *ipso facto* accused of this inborn mystical vice. His agnatic kin, however, are not implicated, not even his own father or his half-siblings by the same father. These are the points Tallensi invariably stress, both among themselves and in answer to an inquirer, if they are asked to define the meaning of *soog*.

Curiously enough, witchcraft occupies a very minor place in Tale thought or ritual action, and that is perhaps why Tallensi make no secret of its hereditary transmission in the female line. They have no clear notion of witchcraft, no detailed theories of its mode of operation, and no institutionalized means of combating or sterilizing it. A witch is supposed to fly about (*u ayarame*) at night in the guise of a ball of fire; she—for the Tallensi tend to think of a witch as a woman though they say that men may be witches—is supposed to be clairvoyant, to see hidden things; she can recognize fellow witches, foresee death coming to a particular person, prophesy an epidemic, and so forth; she may be beneficent, able to impart luck to a person in a mysterious way, or maleficent, killing people by eating (*ob*) their souls (*sii*). This is the sum of Tale ideas about the nature of witches.

Witchcraft is something on the fringe of Tale mystical thought and ritual values. I have more than once heard elders of the most conservative way of thinking, to whom the Tale scheme of ritual values is the most important thing in life, declare roundly that there is no such thing as a witch. Though the Tallensi do not put it into words, they obviously feel that the idea of witchcraft is a mixture of superstition and folk-lore, and not a part of the system of ritual values that really matters for the conduct of life. Of course superstition and folk-lore are not negligible. Circumstances occur, now and then, in which people fall back on the idea of a witch's occult aggression to cope with anxieties and frustrations which are normally neutralized through the agency of the ancestor cult; and then a particular person may be accused of being a witch. Significantly, in every case which has come to my notice, some dating back twenty or thirty years, and all of them together numbering less than ten,

¹ Cf. the Ashanti, among whom it is the patrilineal line which has the submerged function (R. S.

Rattray, *Ashanti*). Among the Yakö the balance is more even, cf. Forde, loc. cit., *J.R.A.I.* lxxviii. 1938.

the accused has been a woman. Most accusations of this sort are made by co-wives, and are symptomatic of the tensions inherent in the joint family.¹

In the past, the uterine kin of a proven witch, and particularly her children, felt the shame for a time, but they were not publicly stigmatized or penalized. Even the husband of an apparently guilty woman would, judging by what happens nowadays, very often continue privately to believe in her innocence, and even if he admitted her guilt, would not allow this to influence his relations with his children by her.

One reason why witchcraft is of minor significance in Tale mystical thought is because the elaborate ancestor cult and the Earth cult deal adequately with most social and psychological tensions. Another reason is that the idea of witchcraft is not easily reconcilable with the structure of Tale society. In a society so largely dominated by the principle of genealogical relationship, where the residential group is based on the corporate agnatic lineage and where a person's social contacts are almost entirely regulated by kinship ties, the norms of kinship necessarily have a very strong hold; and the notion of maleficent secret malice involved in the idea of witchcraft is incompatible with the norms of kinship. It would poison the relationships of kinsmen and throw social life into confusion. As it is, the pegging of witchcraft to the uterine line serves to circumvent any danger to the community. The individuals upon whom an accusation of witchcraft might be expected to throw suspicion are scattered through various lineages and clans. They may protest, but they have no means of taking organized action in defence of their reputation. In any case, an accusation of witchcraft has a very limited range of reaction. Other lineages and families than the one injured by the alleged witch do not feel the injury and even if they harbour uterine kin of the accused person, self-interest prompts them to disregard the implications of the accusation. The folk-lore of witchcraft provides loopholes for such adaptations of logic to social realities. Some say, for example, that a person only becomes a bad witch if his or her mother gives him or her 'witch's medicine' to eat in infancy.

The hereditary transmission of the capacity of being a witch is not connected with the blood (*ziem*), according to the embryological ideas of the Tallensi. Both parents transmit their blood to their offspring, as may be seen from the fact that children may resemble either parent in looks. It is solely a matter of the eye (*nif*, pl. *nini*)—not the physical eye, but the inner, clairvoyant eye which witches are supposed to possess.²

As we have observed, the fundamental distinction between uterine kinship and agnatic descent is that the former does not give rise to corporate units of social structure. *Soog* is essentially a personal bond uniting individual to individual. The model of the relations between *saarat* is the affection and the feeling of mutual identification that prevail between mother and child, or between full siblings of the same sex. Its keynote is mutual trust as between equals. It is never thought of as a

¹ This, as is well known, is the rule in very many African societies.

² The social definition of uterine descent in terms of the notion of witchcraft is consistent with its functions in the structure of Tale society. The meaning of *soog* is neatly symbolized in this notion. And this is true, also, of the only other attribute of

social personality that is held to follow the uterine connexion. This is summed up in the concept of *tyuk*, indirect or inadvertent guilt for another person's death or misfortune. It is unnecessary to discuss this here, as it follows the same rules as the idea of witchcraft.

matter of rights and duties, but as a matter of sentiment, of spontaneous goodwill and intimate, personal confidence. Hence the term *soog* is often metaphorically used to refer to someone with whom one has a relationship of a similar sort, or to denote a very close relative of a class of relatives, whether or not they are true *saarat*.

This personal quality in the relationship of uterine kin is brought out in the attitude of the Tallensi to sexual relations between *saarat*. Such relations are incestuous if the couple know they are *saarat*, however distant their uterine connexion. It is like incest between brother and sister and is viewed in the same way, with disgust rather than horror. Sexual desire for a known *soog* relative is so utterly inconsistent with the general attitude of uterine kin towards each other that it is unthinkable in a decent person. It is a taboo (*kikor*) which normal people take for granted. There are no ritual or jural sanctions against incest with a *soog*, and Tallensi would say that there is no need for them. The bonds of uterine kin are not subject to overt sanctions. 'I will not refuse him, I will not deny him anything', says the *Talan* of a *soog*, thinking of this as an axiomatic characteristic of *soog* kinship.

A person may have *saarat* among his own clansfolk, but the majority of his uterine kin are dispersed among other clans than his own. This is a natural result of the rule of clan exogamy. But Tallensi tend to marry into nearby clans rather than into distant ones. A woman of clan A marries into the adjacent clan B; her daughters marry into clans C and D; their daughters into clans E and F; and so the process goes on. The result is, firstly, that with the passage of the generations the uterine line becomes more and more dispersed; and, secondly, that any person's genealogically nearest uterine kin are also spatially nearest to him. In practice, it is these near *saarat* that he knows and knows of; it is they who are concerned in witchcraft accusations and *tyuk* guilt. His more distant *saarat*—both in the genealogical sense and in residence—are often unknown to him. The main reason for this is that uterine kinship remains effective only through personal contact. The children of sisters know one another because their mothers have kept in touch, visited one another, and helped one another all their lives. Similarly, the uterine grandchildren of sisters know one another, if they live near one another, because their mothers have kept in touch, though not so faithfully as true siblings. Often these contacts are maintained into the fourth generation of a woman's uterine descendants, but rarely beyond it; and a person does not, as a rule, know all the *saarat* whose link with him or her is a common great-grandmother. Some of them will, as likely as not, belong to neighbouring tribes, and he will not even know of their existence. In principle, however, uterine kinship is never extinguished, and it often happens that people of different clans who are strangers to one another discover that they are distant *saarat*. Sometimes, owing to the devious ramifications of uterine kinship, a married couple discover that they are distant *saarat*. If a child has been born, or if the couple refuse to part for any other reason, their kinship must be ritually severed. This is done by the husband and wife each grasping a calabash with one hand and wrenching it in halves. This symbolizes the splitting of their kinship. The Tallensi think of the uterine line as 'travelling' from one settlement to the next in successive generations, as if it were an entity. Hence a person generally speaks of any uterine clanswoman as 'mother' (*ma*) by identification with his own mother.

The usual range of effective uterine kinship is a good illustration of the correlation

between spatial relationship and genealogical relationships. The physical range of the individual's contacts and communication with others is a function of his range of social relations, which is determined principally by his genealogical connexions. In the days before the establishment of the British peace uterine kinship played a very important part in enabling people to travel outside their normal range of social contacts, and so to build up social relations with members of clans usually inaccessible to their own clansmen.

Though people can travel where they will in freedom and security nowadays, it is still usual for anyone having business of a ritual or jural kind in a distant or unfamiliar settlement, to follow the web of matrilineal kinship thither. The route may be much curtailed, but the principle remains.

In the same way, uterine kin assist one another in economic matters. A man who loses time in his farming programme through illness will often ask a *soog* from a neighbouring settlement to come and do a day's hoeing for him when he would not ask for such help from a clansman. Again, crops do not ripen at the same time throughout Taleland. It is the custom, at harvest time, especially at the time of the early millet harvest after the hungry months, for people living in areas that have a late harvest to beg (*soh*) gifts of grain from relatives living in early harvesting areas. Later, when the early harvesting settlements have exhausted their supplies, people from these settlements will go to kinsfolk in late harvesting areas to beg for grain to tide them over. Such reciprocal gifts pass between kinsmen of all categories. But the giving is most generous and most cordial between *soog* kin.

In keeping with the unrestricted range of cognatic kinship among the Tallensi, the close ties of kinship between male *saarat* are extended to their children and sometimes to their grandchildren. With men whose fathers were *saarat*, whether they belong to the same clan or not, the formal ties of kinship are often mellowed by the affection and trust of a friendship like that of their fathers. This is rarer with grandsons of male *saarat*, but is not unknown.

Résumé

LES LIENS DE PARENTÉ CHEZ LES TALLENSI

LES Tallensi des Territoires septentrionaux de la Côte de l'Or sont, à tous points de vue, un exemple typique des tribus qui habitent les territoires anglais et français parcourus par le Volta et ses affluents. Pour tous les rapports juridiques, rituels et politiques, les liens de parenté qu'ils observent sont ceux de la descendance en ligne masculine. Mais, comme beaucoup d'autres peuplades d'Afrique occidentale, les Tallensi admettent aussi les rapports généalogiques en ligne féminine, théoriquement sans limite de degré. Théoriquement aussi, le mariage est interdit entre des personnes unies, à un degré quelconque, par un lien de parenté. Les groupes sociaux qui sont l'élément structural essentiel de la société Tale sont basés sur la ligne de descendance mâle; la ligne de descendance féminine n'y joue aucun rôle, et n'est reconnue que dans certains cas où elle établit un lien défini entre des individus ou des groupes tribaux.

Les groupements généalogiques de Tale aboutissent à un système de segmentation très précise. Le groupe généalogique le plus vaste est le 'maximal lineage', qui comprend tous les descendants en ligne mâle d'un certain ancêtre, à huit ou dix générations. Le groupe généalogique le plus restreint est le 'minimal lineage', qui ne comprend que tous les

enfants d'un même homme. Comme les liens de parenté entraînent l'exogamie, au point de vue juridique, politique et rituel, le groupe généalogique effective se trouve composé par les descendants mâles d'un même ancêtre. Entre les groupes maximal et minimal, il y a place pour toute une hiérarchie de segments généalogiques, tous établis suivant les mêmes principes, mais différant les uns des autres par le degré d'éloignement de l'ancêtre commun auquel ils se rattachent. Chaque individu appartient à toute une série de segments généalogiques. Suivant les cas, c'est l'un ou l'autre niveau de la hiérarchie qui se trouve jouer, et la même personne peut se trouver agir un jour en tant que représentant d'un segment généalogique remontant à un arrière grandpère commun, et un autre jour en tant que membre d'un segment généalogique remontant à un ancêtre plus éloigné.

Le groupe généalogique est basé sur la famille polygame où les enfants sont unis entre eux par le fait d'avoir un même père, mais se subdivisent en plus petits groupes bien distincts comprenant chacun tous les enfants d'une même mère. C'est de la même manière que chaque segment d'un groupe généalogique établit ses rapports de descendance en ligne féminine. C'est ainsi que la descendance en ligne masculine et celle en ligne féminine servent l'un et l'autre, et d'une manière complémentaire à établir les groupes généalogiques.

Un élément fondamental du système de parenté que nous venons de décrire, est un culte des ancêtres très développé qui a un rôle important tant comme critérium des rapports de parenté que par la manière dont il assure la cohésion entre les membres d'un même groupe familial.

Les rapports établis par une origine commune en ligne paternelle ou maternelle, tels que nous venons de les examiner dans le système de parenté, se retrouvent dans tous les aspects de l'organisation sociale. Le pendant essentiel au principe de la parenté établie par descendance mâle est celui de la parenté par descendance utérine (*soog*). Mais les descendants en ligne féminine d'une ancêtre commune ne forment pas un groupe cohérent. Ils sont éparpillés parmi des clans différents, et les liens qui les unissent entre eux sont purement personnels. Des parents en ligne utérine ne peuvent rester en contact que s'ils ne sont pas trop éloignés, tant au point de vue généalogique que dans l'espace. C'est pour cela qu'il n'est guère tenu compte de la parenté utérine au-delà de la quatrième ou cinquième génération. La descendance en ligne féminine a d'ailleurs, comme toute les institutions de Tale, un côté mystique. Les qualités nécessaires pour devenir sorcière (*si*) se transmettent par les femmes. Mais cet aspect n'a qu'un intérêt idéologique, car la sorcellerie ne joue qu'un rôle très peu important dans la vie mystique de Tale.

En dehors des rapports de parenté en ligne purement utérine, les rapports généalogiques avec la parenté mâle de la mère sont d'une extrême importance dans la vie sociale de l'individu et de la communauté. Le frère de la mère, par exemple, joue un rôle important dans la vie de tout homme et de toute femme de Tale.

JOKING RELATIONSHIPS IN TANGANYIKA

R. E. MOREAU

THE note on 'Joking relationship in East Africa' in *Africa*, vol. xiii, pp. 170-3, 1940, brought to my notice a custom of which I had never heard. It led me to make inquiries about *utani* among the Africans on my station, whom I found without exception to be ready to discuss the matter. What follows is based on the information given me in Swahili by thirty-two men belonging to the following seventeen tribes:

Yao, Ngoni, Wemba, Ngindo, Nyakyusa, Kinga, Mbunga, Ha, Sumbwa, Nyamwezi, Zaramu, Zigua, Nyiramba, Chagga, Sambaa, Bondei, and Digo.

The first few tribes in this list live in the far south of Tanganyika Territory; the last four are along the north-eastern border; and the lands of the remainder are intermediate. In all of them *utani* was shown to be important; so that it exists in, and binds together, tribes from one end of Tanganyika to the other. As some of my informants mentioned, there is no doubt that under modern influences certain of its manifestations are falling into disuse locally. But I gained the impression that in general *utani* is alive, vigorous, and well understood; and I have evidence that at least certain features of it continue to be observed by both Christians and Mohammedans, even those of considerable fervour.

It is the more surprising that in East Africa it should be so undocumented as would appear from the note mentioned above. I have not been able to make an exhaustive search in the literature, but a number of books and papers in German and in English have been available to me. In these I have been able to find only two references, a casual one (by inference, not by name) in the Culwicks' account of the Bena¹ and a half-page specially devoted to 'the *mtani*' in Dale's description of Bondei customs.² The latter reference, though unsystematic and incomplete, is of special interest now that the tribe has been subjected to forty-five more years of sophisticating influences as powerful as any in Tanganyika. A relationship agreeing in point after point with *utani* has been noted also between certain Bemba clans in Northern Rhodesia who recognize each other as '*banungwe*'.³

The sketch given in the following pages is derived only from a brief and superficial inquiry. I record the results of it because the measure of agreement between my informants gives me confidence that the main outlines are correct, and also in order to show how extensive and interesting a field of inquiry remains to be explored. Leisurely discussion with old tribesmen would be sure to correct, as well as greatly to supplement, the information obtained by me from such sources as happened to be available. I make no attempt to discuss my data, for I am not qualified to do so.

According to Johnson⁴ *utani* is derived from an Arabic root, which may be transliterated *watan*, meaning 'to reside in',⁵ whence in Swahili *watani*, 'a person's

¹ Culwick, A. T. and G. M., *Ubena of the Rivers*, London, 1935.

² Dale, G., 'Account of the Principal Customs and Tribes of the Natives inhabiting the Bondei Country', *J.R.A.I.*, pp. 181-239, 1896.

³ Richards, A. I., 'Reciprocal Clan Relationships among the Bemba of N. Rhodesia', *Man*, xxxvii,

222, pp. 188-93, 1927.

⁴ Johnson, F., *A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary*, London, 1925.

⁵ This seems to be a mistake; other evidence is all to the effect that the Arabic *watan* is a noun, meaning 'home', &c., as in Swahili.

home, native village, country'. The *wa-* has been treated as *ua-* of the U class of noun and by 'back-formation' the verb *tania*, 'to be familiar with, chaff, treat as of very near kin or a very great friend', has been produced. Hence *mtani* is 'one of a family, a kinsman', but an Arab from Zanzibar tells me that to his people the word has no further implications. Among tribesmen of the mainland the word has acquired an intensified meaning, which Johnson indicates in a note that '*watani* can abuse each other, or take each other's things, without there being a quarrel'. In fact, as will appear, the *utani* bond is one of extraordinary power, so that in some respects *watani* are closer than relatives by blood; they have the most far-reaching mutual obligations of hospitality and the sharing of property, they perform special functions at each other's funerals, they have certain quasi-magical powers between themselves, and finally their mutual abuse and horseplay are not merely permissive but almost ritual and are linked with a remarkable system of forfeits.

At the outset of the inquiry it became apparent that *utani* can operate both between tribes and within a tribe. In the former case, which may conveniently be called 'external *utani*', the acknowledgement of *utani* between two tribes means that every member of each tribe is, by birth, and irrespective of age or sex, the *mtani* of every member of the other. 'Internal *utani*', within the same tribe, exists between certain families or clans (*ukoo*) or between certain members of certain families. So far as my evidence goes, the privileges and the obligations of any given man's *watani* appear as a rule—though by no means always—to be the same whether they belong to his own tribe or to another; nevertheless it is somewhat surprising that the word *utani* should be applied to both the 'external' and the 'internal' relationship. It is noteworthy also that the word *utani*, presumably of Arabic derivation, is in familiar use by all the tribes I have investigated, and only in Yao have I been able to obtain any tribal equivalent for it.

It is said that among the Zaramu a stranger claiming to be an *mtani* of yours can be tested by getting him to pluck leaves from some vegetable growing in your plantation. If he truly is an *mtani* the plant will die; if he is not it will continue to live.

External 'utani' ties

Fifteen of the seventeen tribes investigated claim external *utani* as follows:

Yao¹ with Ngoni, Langulu, and Potola (the last two in Southern Nyasaland).

Ngoni with Yao, Wemba, Ngindo, Nyakyusa, Kinga, Bena, Makonde, Mwera, Mbunga, Ha, Nyamwezi, Sukuma, Hehe, Kami, Luguru, Gogo, Nyiramba, Zaramu.

Wemba (Tanganyika outliers of the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia) with Ngoni, Hehe, Yao, and Ngindo.

Ngindo with Ngoni (and some Nyasa tribes).

Kinga with Ngoni, Hehe, Bena, and Pangwa.

Nyakyusa with Ngoni (especially), Sangu, Hehe, and Gogo.

Mbunga with Yao (one branch), Ngoni, Pogoro, Makonde, Rufiji, Mawia, Kinga,

Nyika, Hehe, Sangu, Gogo, Sagara, Vidunda, Kami, and Zaramu.

Ha with Ngoni and certain Nyamwezi.

¹ The Yao informant was born in Nyasaland. It is probable that the Tanganyika Yao would have some different ties of *utani*.

Sumbwa (often regarded as Nyamwezi by distant tribes) with Ngoni, Gogo, Zaramu, Zigua.

Nyamwezi with Ngoni, Gogo, Kami, Kaguru, Sagara, Zaramu, and Zigua.

Zaramu with Ngoni, Mbunga, Nyamwezi, Sukuma, Zigua, Digo, and Doe.

Zigua with Nyamwezi, Sukuma, Kami, Luguru, Hehe, Gogo, and Zaramu.

Nyiramba with Masai, Mbulu, Mangati, Mbugwe, Nyaturu, Gogo, and certain of the Nyamwezi.

Digo with Zaramu, Kami, and Luguru.

Chagga with Pare. (Pare are said to have *utani* also with Teita.)

Each informant was asked how he thought external *utani* had originated. Without exception he said that his ancestors had fought (*pigana*) with the tribe with whom he now has *utani*. This is completely at variance with the reports that the 'joking relationships' of the French Sudan owe their origin to acts of legendary clemency.¹ I can only infer, for it was never explicit, that in Tanganyika *utani* was a condition or a consequence of peace-making. But how fundamental the necessity of past enmity seems to be is illustrated by two remarks. Nyiramba: 'The Irangi wanted *utani* with us but we refused because we had not fought with them.' A Nyamwezi expressed surprise on hearing that the Masai had *utani* with the Nyiramba and added: 'I suppose they must have fought together.' Moreover, speaking of the 'extraordinarily cordial relations said by the Bena to exist now between them and the Ngoni'—which are obviously the *utani* relations recorded above on Ngoni information—the Culwicks call it 'an affection based on the mutual regard of old well-known, well-tried opponents'. But 'other one-time foes such as the Wapogoro are regarded with contempt as having "no strength"'. This agrees with the impression I had from my Ngoni informant who emphatically denied a suggestion that the Pogoro might be *watani* of his. Actually the Pogoro preferred the poisoned arrow from ambush to the hand-to-hand encounter (*ibid.*, p. 168).

It does not appear that the enmity necessarily took the form of organized warfare: to the country they passed through, trading caravans could be hardly less of a scourge than organized raids. (Zigua: 'In the time of our fathers the Nyamwezi going to Pangani chased us with guns and took us and sold us to the Arabs.') If Tanganyika *utani* really has the basis suggested, then the most aggressive tribes and also the most itinerant would be expected to have the most numerous ties of *utani*. To some extent this is true: no tribe has more than the Ngoni, who in the years following 1840 raided from the Nyasa region north to Victoria Nyanza and east to the Indian Ocean.² At least three of the tribes on the Ngoni list, the Kami, Luguru, and Zaramu would not, however, from the known Ngoni movements, have been expected to come in contact with them, and since the Ngoni seem never to have been porters on a large scale it is not easy to understand how these particular ties of *utani* can have been based on former enmity. The Nyamwezi, on the other hand, have been the great porter tribe of East Africa and, except the Ngoni, all the tribes with which they themselves claim *utani* are those whose territories are crossed by the caravan routes to Pangani and Bagamoyo. Perhaps, as has been suggested above,

¹ Pauline, D., 'Parenté à plaisanteries et alliance par le sang en Afrique Occidentale', *Africa*, vol. xii, pp. 433-44, 1939.

² Poole, E. H. Lane, *The Native Tribes of the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia*, Lusaka, 1938.

they did come into constant collision with these tribes nearer the coast; but in this connexion it is noteworthy that the Nyiramba, besides having ties showing that the warlike non-Bantu tribes of Tanganyika participate in the *utani* system, also have ties with the Mbugwe. These are a small sedentary people separated from the Nyiramba by the Mbulu group; and it is not likely that they could have had much contact with the Nyiramba but for the fact that the latter pass through Umpugwe to work on the coffee plantations of Arusha. This rather suggests that in some cases *utani* may have originated, not in 'noble' warfare, but as a convenient arrangement by which a tribe secures and regularizes hospitality from a weaker and more sedentary people on whom in the course of its comings and goings it makes frequent demands. In theory the arrangement is entirely reciprocal, but in practice it hardly can be so; for example, the Nyamwezi movement through Zigua or Zaramu country must be vastly greater than the opposite. Relative unfamiliarity with visits from the more sedentary tribe might account for the sort of case mentioned in Pedler's note.¹

It may be remarked that many contiguous tribes are not *watani*. For example, the Zigua have no *utani* with the Nguu or the Sambaa, the reason given being that they are relatives (*ndugu*).

It would be interesting to know the means by which each *utani* tie became established. For example, it is hardly conceivable that any formal peace-making took place between the itinerant Nyamwezi gangs, under Arab leadership, and the loosely organized Zigua on whom they had been accustomed to trample. But however arrived at, it seems likely that the ties of external *utani* recognized to-day are historically very recent. The movement of the Masai southwards is not likely to have brought them into collision with the Nyiramba until about a hundred years ago.² The Ngoni, who own to more ties than any other tribe, did not begin their irruption into Tanganyika until about the same date and are said to have stopped fighting, e.g. with the Nyakyusa, only after European interference, which cannot have been till after about 1880. The harrying of the Zigua by the Nyamwezi caravans probably ceased no earlier than the suppression of the slave trade in the 1870s. A recent origin for external *utani* would go far to explain the general use of an Arabic word for the relationship, but the internal *utani*, next to be discussed, may well be much older.

Internal 'utani'

Of the fifteen tribes whose external *utani* ties are listed above, eight apparently have no internal *utani*; but in the Ngoni, Yao, Nyakyusa, Nyiramba, Zaramu, Zigua, and Digo tribes internal *utani* co-exists with external.³ Two other tribes, the Bondei and Sambaa, have internal *utani* but not external, except that some Bondei recognize rights of mutual hospitality, which are perhaps vestigial, with certain of the Digo. In all these tribes the internal *utani* is hereditary and, except in the Ngoni, there is no suggestion of any way in which new ties can now be formed.

¹ Pedler, F. J., 'Joking Relationship in East Africa', *Africa*, vol. xiii, pp. 170-3, 1940.

² Sandford, G. R., *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London, 1919.

³ Most probably this applies also to the Bena, for apart from the likelihood that their *mlongo* relation-

ship as described by the Culwicks (1935) is a local form of *utani* there is the very significant statement (*ibid.*, p. 182) that the Tani and Wakinimanga clans are 'on sufficiently intimate terms to indulge in mutual abuse without giving offence'.

None of my informants can say with any confidence how his hereditary internal *utani* originated, but three different men suggest vaguely that the ancestors of the families concerned may have fought (*pigana*) or disputed (*gombana*). It is possible that the still existing method of initiating a new internal *utani* among the Ngoni may have had a wider currency. In that tribe when a death occurs it is an honourable thing for someone neither *mtani* nor relative to offer to dig the grave and carry out the burial. If he is allowed to do so he and his descendants become the *watani* of the bereaved family; the essential qualification seems to be that he should have handled the corpse. The performance of burial duties enters also into the reported origin of the Bemba *banungwe* (Richards, 1937), but as only one, not the essential, qualification.

In most of the nine tribes having internal *utani* every member of a family is the *mtani* of every member of another with which *utani* exists, irrespective of age and sex. But in Nyiramba and in Yao families, members of any given generation cannot acknowledge *utani* until their father and his opposite number in the linked family are both dead; so that *utani* tends to be confined to members of the same generation. Amongst the Nyakyusa the internal *utani* is said to be very narrowly restricted, a person's *watani* being limited to the children of his (or her) father's uterine sisters. The *utani* does not extend to the next generation.

The manner in which internal *utani* is inherited has interesting variants and implications. Among the Ngoni, the Zigua, and the Digo the children of both sexes inherit the *utani* ties of their mother as well as those of their father; in the Yao a boy is said to inherit only his father's *utani*, a girl her mother's. Among the Sambaa and the Bondei children of both sexes follow the father's *utani*, and to a lesser extent the mother's also 'because', as two of my informants remarked, 'the father's is the stronger'. Here a transition may be taking place; for in the Zaramu tribe children of both sexes now inherit only their father's *utani*, whereas it is recalled that in times past they took only their mother's.¹

The extent to which a woman is affected by the *utani* ties of her husband would require an investigation in itself. In the Ngoni if A, *mtani* of B (also Ngoni), marries an Ngoni woman not *mtani* of B, she becomes the *mtani* of B. (But if the three concerned were Bondei this result would not follow.) If the Ngoni A were to marry a Nyamwezi woman, who would by birth be an (external) *mtani* of B, her *utani* with B would be unaffected. But if Ngoni A had married a woman of a tribe with whom the Ngoni have no *utani*, then she would not become the *mtani* of B 'because she would not understand it'. On the other hand a Nyakyusa is of opinion that he would be on *mtani* terms with any woman an *mtani* of his married.

The intermarriage of 'watani'

In general, there is no bar to the marriage of external *watani*; in fact, as will be shown below, a man has often special claims to the daughter of an *mtani*. The only firm objection to external *mtani* marriage comes from my Chagga informant, who holds that it is not a good thing for a Chagga to marry a Pare 'because of the *utani*'

¹ Mrs. Culwick comments that these variations are probably one of the many results of the mix-up of matriliney and patriliney which is so common in

the Tanganyika tribes, with patriliney tending to supervene.

(which there are no means of breaking), though such marriages are not rare. A marriage between external *watani* may, however, retain peculiar features. In the Ha, if married *watani* separate, no claim for the return of the bride-price lies. The Sumbwa hold that, before *watani* actually marry, the *utani* between the bride and her father on one side and the bridegroom on the other should be ceremonially broken with the slaughter of a beast. This is stated to have been adopted as a convenient expedient. The bride's father would not anyway be allowed to 'joke' with his son-in-law after the marriage; he might from force of habit forget this prohibition and then the elders would have fined him no less than five head of cattle. The breaking of *utani* at a cost of one beast thus insures him against a possible loss of five.

Public opinion against the marriage of internal *watani* seems on the whole to be quite strong, although its intensity varies, even between persons of the same tribe. Of the nine tribes listed above as having internal *utani*, only Digo, Bondei, and Zaramu give unreserved approval to such marriages without restriction. In the Ngoni the *utani* is ceremonially broken with the slaughter of a goat, though the same tribe do not think this necessary before external *watani* marry. The Yao and the Bondei would disallow it altogether, some even asserting that the partners would die. It may take place between Nyiramba, but in case of subsequent separation a return of bride-price cannot be claimed. Among Nyakyusa internal *watani*, who must in any case be cross-cousins, it appears that marriage is barred, but a man has the right to give in marriage an *mtani* who is the daughter of his mother's brother.

In this connexion it is noteworthy that in some tribes (e.g. Bondei, Sambaa, Sumbwa, Digo, Zigua) it is held that a man must not marry the widow of an *mtani*, whether internal or external. Among the Sumbwa, indeed, such a marriage is expected to result in the death of the parties.

As a general rule it appears that on the marriage of *watani* their 'joking relationship'—fairly described as a right to plague each other with impunity—lapses, apparently as a concession to the husband's marital dignity. In the Wemba, however, it is said to persist.

The joking

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the joking is only one aspect of *utani*, the other being most far-reaching mutual obligations. The joking itself is usually referred to by the Africans under two heads: *tukana* (curse, abuse, revile, insult, call bad names) and *danganya* (elude, delude, deceive, defraud, cheat, beguile, impose upon, belie). In addition there are horseplay, and a remarkable system of forfeits, which merits a separate section. So far as I can gather, all the joking may be done in public, with no restriction of place or time.

Gibes offered by my informants as typical of the *tukana* exchange are the sort of crudities we uttered ourselves when we were very young: 'Yours is a rotten tribe'; 'Baboon yourself'; and so on. A richer insult is: 'You're better dead: I want your wife.' The horseplay takes the form of shoving each other about, or a man can come to the house of his *mtani* and seize his wife, declaring that he is going off with her (Ngoni). All the informants stress the fact that if anyone who was not an *mtani* said and did such things there would be a row. ('You might get angry inside at the insults of your *mtani*, but you must say "it is my *mtani*"': Nyakyusa.) Almost

without exception the view is expressed, however, that between *watani* rudeness is not merely permitted but is the right and the expected thing.

Most informants insist that this ritual applies without distinction of age or sex;¹ and it is a tribute to the power of the *utani* relationship that at least in theory it should override the rule that age should receive respect. (Also only one said in so many words that a man would not chaff a woman as roughly as he would another man.) In this connexion a stock question of mine was: 'Surely a boy *that* high [three feet] wouldn't abuse an old man?' The usual answer was: 'He must (*lazima*) abuse the old man because he is his *mtani*.' Others added: 'The old man could not be angry.' (Cf. Richards (1937): 'it is said that even a commoner may swear at his chief if they are *banungwe*.)' A dispenser, a man of some education and local position, replied without hesitation: 'Certainly, a little boy, who is my *mtani*, abuses *me*.' Strongly though this may be held in theory it does not always take place in practice: two or three have said that a small boy would naturally be rather afraid of an old man; and my cook in his twenties (Ngoni), though acknowledging full *utani* with my house-boy of fifty (Zaramu), treats him respectfully.

The deception of a man by his *mtani* as a rule takes the same form as our 'making an April fool'. It is noteworthy, however, that nearly all my informants cited as their prime jest the telling of an *mtani* that his *baba* (father or uncle) had died. This is exactly what is described as 'l'une des plaisanteries "classiques"' in the West African joking relationship (Paulme, 1939). In Tanganyika the fooling is allowed to go its full length: a man may set off with all his family in tears for the scene of the death and he may be allowed to make a fifty-mile journey without being undeceived (Digo, Nyiramba). Or it may take the form of an old man telling a child that its *baba* has died; the child may run howling home, to be laughed at there by its elders for not realizing that its informant was an *mtani* (Bondei). In one tribe, the Nyiramba, with its restricted cousin *utani*, it is held that internal *watani* should not allude to the death of their elders, though their external *watani* may make a jest of it.

It is likely that there may be a whole canon of pleasantries concerned with what is called a 'dirty beard' (*ndevu chafu*). Among the Bondei any *mtani* (male or female) who meets one has a right to pull it. At the other end of the Territory the Nyakyusa face so adorned is liable to be forcibly shaved without water.

In most tribes a man's *watani* put up some special show at his wedding. They may playfully curse the union (Sumbwa); they may block the door of his hut or obstruct the procession (Mbunga, Ngindo, Nyamwezi, Nyiramba, Digo); one of them may pretend to carry off the bride by force (Ngoni, Zigua, Sambaa); or he may get into the bridegroom's bed swearing that the bride shall be his (Zaramu, Zigua, Kinga). On all these occasions the *mtani* has to be bought off with a shilling or two.

Forfeits

(a) Meat carried in the hand, with or without a string, is forfeit unless it is covered with a leaf (of any plant whatever) or a bit of paper. This forfeit is recognized in all the tribes investigated except, perhaps, the Nyiramba. It never applies to ordinary

¹ It is only for verbal convenience that throughout these notes I have used masculine nouns and

pronouns in describing *utani* custom. As a rule they should be taken as referring also to female agents.

food, 'only to something with blood in it' (Ngoni). Among the Zigua it is said to hold good between external, but not between internal, *watani*.

(b) Clothes put on inside out (or, apparently, back to front) are also universally acknowledged to be forfeit.

(c) A garment held up in front to carry some such food as rice is forfeit together with the food, at least in Ngoni, Kinga, Sumbwa, Nyamwezi, and Digo usage. The explanation offered is that the hem of the garment is turned inside out, which would make this forfeit a derivative of (b).

(d) New clothes worn before they have been washed are forfeit, at least among the Nyakyusa, Sumbwa, and Nyamwezi. An explanation is that it is bad luck for the owner to wear them in that condition, because that is how a corpse wears its shroud.

(e) Clothes put out to dry on the roof of a house are held forfeit by most of the tribes, certainly by the Ngoni, Nyakyusa, Kinga, Wemba, Yao, Ngindo, Ha, Zarami, Sumbwa, Nyamwezi, Digo, and Zigua. (Cf. also Richards, 1937.) Some extend the forfeit to footgear, to headgear, even to a hoe, and to things hung upon a line (Wemba) or on a tree (Zigua). Clothes spread on the ground or bushes seem everywhere to be safe. Both Yao and Wemba informants connect this forfeit with a custom of erecting a hut by the grave of a newly dead chief and covering it with a cloth. The Yao *mtani* taking clothes from a roof will say: 'Why have you spread these out to dry? Has your father died?' The Wemba equivalent is 'I see a chief has died in this house': the Ngoni, 'I see you have put a corpse out to dry'. A Zigua thinks that the basis of the custom may be that it is bad luck for a person to have about his house an object that is like a dead or a hanged man.

(f) An entire brew of beer is mentioned by the Yao, Mbunga, Nyamwezi, Ngoni, and Kinga as forfeit in certain circumstances. Among the Yao, if an *mtani* enters a hut where beer has been prepared and is not offered a drink immediately he can claim the lot. In the other tribes the beer is apparently safe from an *mtani* if it is thoroughly covered with leaves.

In all the forfeits described above the *mtani* takes the initiative and with few exceptions, if any, establishes a claim by spitting on the object concerned. He (or she) then has an indefeasible right to it. If the wearer should be reluctant to give up a forfeited shirt, for example, his *mtani* who has caught him wearing it inside out has a perfect right to tear it off him; and all my informants agree that no action could lie at law for such an act between *watani*. The owner can always, if he wishes, ask to ransom the forfeited article, but the *mtani* has absolute discretion whether he accepts the offer (usually a few cents) or not. An example of a transaction of this nature that has come under my notice is of an Ngoni living in Usambara, who, on a visit to a kinsman at a neighbouring village passed the hut of a Nyamwezi, that is, an external *mtani* of his. The man had left a pair of canvas shoes on his hut roof while he went to market. The Ngoni carried them off with him, making no secret of it. Later, when the owner came back from market and heard what had happened he followed the Ngoni to the relative's house. There, after a bantering discussion, he was allowed to ransom his shoes—for a hen, since he had no money.

It would probably be difficult, if not impossible, really to ascertain what underlies most of these forfeit customs, but from the comments on (d) and (e) I infer that the *mtani* in taking possession of things that have an ill-omened appearance is instru-

mental in saving his friend from possible bad consequences. This impression is much stronger in one other forfeit, which is recognized in practically every tribe examined:

(g) Clothes that have had holes eaten in them by rats. This forfeit has the peculiarity that it is not necessary for the *mtani* to spit on the objects, and as a rule it is explicitly stated that the owner cannot ransom them. The reason for this is indicated by some people's conviction that directly you see a garment of yours has been eaten by rats you must seek out an *mtani* and press it on him (Ngindo; Mbunga; Yao; Nyiramba; Sambaa 'if he is near'). The reasons given by the first four of these tribes are respectively: that if the owner wore such clothes again it would be bad luck (*uchimvi*); that he would be *maskini* ('a hapless, luckless, miserable individual'); that if the clothes were not given to the *mtani* rats would eat the owner's property every day; that such clothes become *mwiko* ('something deliberately abstained from, for considerations of health, taboo, totem'). Clearly in this forfeit the *mtani* is an instrument for removing a load of impending evil.

The extreme bad luck attributed to rats' attentions may possibly have some connexion with the idea of the *vizuu*, 'the spirits of people thought to be dead, but . . . in reality spirited away by magic' and 'employed by witches . . . to enter houses in the form of a rat and kill people by devouring their livers' (Johnson, 1939). But a Sumbwa extends this forfeit to clothes eaten by cockroaches, an Ngoni to those in which holes have accidentally been burnt, the appropriate remark by the *mtani* being: 'You are much too fine a fellow to wear clothes like that.'

The mutual obligations of 'watani'

The essence of *utani* is that every person admitted to it has a right to hospitality from an *mtani*. As enunciated by all my informants, any man can enter the hut of an *mtani*, and can eat and drink his fill with or without invitation—cf. Dale op. cit. It seems certainly by virtue of *utani* that the Bena and the Ngoni 'can enter each others' houses and demand food, and be as rude to each other as they like' (Culwicks, op. cit., p. 171). If a hut is shut and the owner is away an *mtani* can break in—even smash a padlock—prepare food, kill and eat a hen, help himself to any beer he finds. He is supposed to have two drinks on such an occasion, then place the dipper across the mouth of the beer-jar, so that his *mtani* on his return will know who has broken in (Ngoni). These rights hold good wherever the *watani* may find themselves, whether one of them is in his native country or both are in the area of a third tribe. Even making allowance for a difference between theory and practice, it is still at once apparent what an enormous help *utani* may be to men undertaking those month-long journeys to and from work which have been such a feature of Tanganyika life. *Watani* falling in with each other on the march pool their resources, mess together, and stick together in a quarrel.

Nearly all my informants have said that a person can ask from an *mtani* anything whatever that takes his fancy and that he may not be refused. A Sumbwa declared that if an *mtani* were refused, say, a hen, he could put a curse on your hens so that they all died of disease or were taken by hawks. In extreme cases, he could curse you so that you yourself would die. It is however generally understood that a small thing like a walking-stick, a hen, or even a goat, may usually be handed over without demur; to most of my informants it was unthinkable that it could be withheld; a

bigger thing, like a gun, is likely to be demanded only in order that it may be ransomed by the owner. The owner may plead: 'That is a very great thing. Don't ask for it and I will give you money to help you to buy one for yourself' (Yao). Even a wife may be the object in jocular demand (Kinga). But if the *mtani* really wants a thing he may refuse to allow the owner to ransom it or may set no less than the full market price upon it. Then there is no course open to the owner but to let it go and he has no legal redress. As an Ngoni puts it: 'A court would dismiss the case, for between *watani* there is no matter for law (*sheria*).' And a Nyakyusa: 'If you did get angry with an *mtani* to whom would you complain? The elders would know he was your *mtani* and would say "enough".' Even beer put out as *tambiko*, i.e. for the ancestral spirits, may be taken with impunity by an *mtani* (Sumbwa). This is, of course, logical on the basis that the *utani* ties of the beer-owner will also be binding on his ancestors.

In some tribes, but not in others, a man has a pre-emptive right to the daughter of an *mtani*. This seems most far-reaching in the Ngindo; a daughter asked for and spat on by an *mtani* may not be refused to him or she will die; and moreover the bride-price is remitted. Also among the Mbunga, Wemba, Nyakyusa, Sumbwa, and Kinga a father may not refuse his daughter to an *mtani*, but in the first four tribes the full bride-price can be demanded and in the last a part of it.

It seems to be generally held that in other affairs of life a man in difficulties, say for the means to pay a fine or to make up a bride-price, has no compelling claim on an *mtani*. Like any relative, he may or may not help him, as he feels disposed.

The functions of 'watani' in connexion with a funeral

When a death takes place any *mtani* of the deceased within reach is under at least as strong an obligation to attend as any relative; which helps to explain the number of unrelated people who apply for leave from an employer in order to go to funerals. Nyiramba *utani* ties confer the right to a cow on an *mtani* who puts in an appearance.

In some tribes an *mtani* is charged in preference to anyone else with the duty of breaking the news of an unexpected death. On the other hand among the Bondei when someone is told of the death of his *mtani* it is proper for him repeatedly and indignantly to deny that this is true, even after he has viewed the corpse. Dale (1896) probably had something of this sort in mind when he described the Bondei *mtani* as 'a jester who brightens up a mourning', but I suspect this interpretation.

In all the tribes investigated except the Chagga, and perhaps the Wemba, when a death has occurred the *watani* (or one selected *mtani*) have special functions at the funeral. They are often preferred to anyone else for the digging of the grave (Ha, Yao, Mbunga) or they mark it out (Digo). If a Nyakyusa has died in the bush and is 'far gone' when found, an *mtani* and no one else must prepare the body for burial. In these tribes and also in the Ngindo, Zigua, Zaramu, Nyiramba, Nyamwezi, Ngoni, and Kinga, there is the very remarkable custom that an *mtani* (male or female) should enter the open grave and lie down in it. Not until he has been fee'd with a shilling or two does he 'allow the dead man to be buried'. When satisfied, he stands up in the grave and receives the corpse. There are minor variations: the lying down is said to be only optional with Digo and Zigua; with the Zaramu not only the *mtani* who lies in the grave must be fee'd, but also a representative of each other *utani* tribe

represented at the funeral. Among the Sumbwa the *mtani* lies, not in the newly dug grave, but on the bed that is to be used as bier. Declaring that he must be buried along with the corpse, he will not vacate the bed so that the burial can proceed until he has been given money; and if he were to be refused another member of the family would die. These customs seem to have something in common with the obstruction of the funeral procession in the French Sudan (Paulme, *op. cit.*, p. 438). And it is possible that there is also some underlying connexion with the Bondei denial of the death cited above and the taunts of the Bemba *banungwe*, when the earth has been heaped above the corpse, that its relatives have buried a living man (Richards, *op. cit.*). All these customs have in common a ritual refusal by the *mtani* to recognize the necessity for the burying.

In general it appears that an *mtani* is preferred to any relative as master (or mistress) of ceremonies at a funeral. It is not clear how widely a female *mtani* is acceptable at a man's funeral. Among the Bondei she takes charge if no male *mtani* is available, but she sits apart and acts through a male go-between. The burial over, an *mtani* is required in nearly every tribe to shave the heads of the bereaved family. Among the Sumbwa he also breaks (so that it may not be used again) the stool on which the people have sat for the shaving. Among the Yao, if the deceased is a male a female *mtani* is called upon to do the shaving, and *vice versa*. As a rule the *mtani*, not a relative, is the deceased's executor, not only disposing of his property but, where a man has left a family, having to see them settled with a relative—cf. the statement by Richards (1937) that among the Bemba the *banungwe* are 'responsible for handing over to the heirs the insignia of inheritance'.

In all tribes the *watani* have a right to some share of the deceased's property, but many variants have been reported to me. With the Ngindo an *mtani* is said to have first call on anything he likes; with the Yao he is said to be entitled to a share of any money left, but not of goods; with the Nyamwezi the *mtani* is supposed to have at least the dead man's clothes and, if he left much property, a share of that as well. Among the Sambaa an *mtani* takes the clothes ('the family would be afraid to wear them'), cooking-pots, and, if it is especially desired, his bed. One informant has suggested that it is a good thing for the cooking-pots to be removed so that the widow should have no chance of committing suicide by the ceremony of *vunja chungu* ('breaking the cooking-pot').¹

In many tribes the *watani* bring money (e.g. Digo, Nyakyusa, Nyamwezi, Kinga) or a beast (Ha, Mbunga, Ngoni) as a contribution to the funeral expenses, but it appears that in some cases (e.g. Zaramu) nearly as much in money, or an equivalent beast, is returned to the donor in the course of the ceremonies. Apart from this, in most tribes the *watani* have a right to some particular part of the animal that is slaughtered—the head and neck with the Yao, Mbunga, Zigua, Sambaa, and Bondei, often with the skin as well. Sometimes a single *mtani* is entitled to a leg, while if several attend they have a right to a whole beast, which they slaughter themselves (Nyakyusa, Digo). It is sometimes specified that the *watani* should be served with meat before anyone else (Ngoni).

According to an Ngoni an *mtani* is charged, in preference to a relative, with the duty of looking after the grave mound and the tree (fig or *Cussonia*) that is planted as

¹ See *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, no. 12, pp. 49–50.

a monument. He is concerned to clear out the vermin, especially the zorilla polecats (*Ictonyx*), that are liable to make their homes in the mound; and no wood off the tree may be used without his permission. After a few visits he can claim a beast as his fee.

If the death has been due to a 'bad disease', nothing whatever of the deceased's property is supposed to be handled by relatives. In response to inquiry all informants quoted leprosy as *the* bad disease; additions were yaws (Mbunga, Zigua) and gangrenous sores (*kambako*, Bondei). In such cases an *mtani* takes charge of everything and normally burns it or throws it away in the uninhabited bush. A Bondei said that for this purpose the *mtani* is to the deceased's relatives as a European doctor is to ordinary people during a smallpox epidemic: he can expose himself to infection without danger.

The sanitary and magical functions of 'watani'

Fifty years ago, when the Bondei were mainly pagan, it was the duty of an *mtani* to kill off a family's *vigego* (unlucky children, such as those who cut their upper teeth before their lower), lepers, and 'people who were not wanted' (Dale, 1896). Modern Bondei are well aware of this; and one of them has remarked that a leper was removed 'when he was too long in dying'. When I told a Nyakyusa of these functions of the Bondei *mtani* he volunteered that exactly the same held good in his tribe; with the addition that the leper's body was not buried, but covered thickly by his *mtani* with branches of *mlangali* (candelabra *Euphorbia*). A Sumbwa gave a similar account; with his tribe, however, it was customary for a family to call in an *mtani* as soon as they detected any sign of leprosy in one of their number. The leper was then decoyed into the uninhabited bush and speared by the *mtani*. The corpse, like that of a yaws case, could not be buried but was merely covered with thorny branches. Among the Sumbwa also an *mtani* who had relieved a family from the danger of a *kigego* was rewarded by being given a child that became his absolute property. According to a Yao a leper has to be taken into the bush by his *watani*, to be looked after by them there—which may be a euphemism.

That tribes so dissimilar in origin and so remote geographically as the Bondei, the Sumbwa, and the Nyakyusa, should have given an *mtani* identical functions with regard to lepers and unlucky children suggests that he has been very widely empowered to undertake these measures of primitive sanitation.

An *mtani*, irrespective of sex or age, is also considered qualified above anyone else to help with certain minor physical ills, at least some of which are presumed to be punitive sanctions. Among the Zigua a person with mumps (*matumbwi*) seeks an *mtani*, who throws ashes over him. Among the Nyakyusa and Zaramu a stiff neck can be cured by an *mtani* who twists it once or twice to right and left. (An *mtani* is no use, however, to a Chagga with a stiff neck; he needs someone who is left-handed.) An *mtani* can benefit Nyakyusa boils and ringworm by spitting on them but cannot effect a cure 'unless God helps'. A Nyakyusa suffering from epileptic fits can apply to an *mtani*, who will provide medicine and charge him nothing. Among the Bondei a child who has broken a food-taboo (*mwiko*) is sent to an *mtani*. He applies a paste of sheep's dung and *mwengele*, which is said to be painful, and drives the patient home with blows and curses. (The remedy may well be effective: Mr. P. J. Greenway tells me that the plant is *Cissus adenocaulis*, with a juice so acid

that it is used for cleaning copper and brass.) Among the Bondei certain sores on the arms, said to be due to breach of a *mwiko*, are treated by an *mtani*, with ashes.

An ascription of quasi-magical powers to *watani* seems to underlie the curative functions just described. The idea became explicit in a Sumbwa statement: 'My *mtani* is in some sort my medicine man (*mtani wangu namna mganga wangu*).' He may cure a Sumbwa stiff neck by laying a string across a much-frequented path. When many people have passed over it the *mtani* takes it to the sufferer and ties it round his neck. As already mentioned, if a Sumbwa were to refuse an *mtani* something he wanted the *mtani* has power to curse to death; but it is also said that if he relents in time he can bring the patient back to health. The magical status of the *mtani*, at least in certain tribes, is most clearly shown by the fact that if a Sumbwa or Nyakyusa has before him a journey that he fears he can send for an *mtani* to *tambikia*, 'to intercede for him'. The *mtani* spits ceremonially and imprecates a whole series of evil things, in fact every likely disaster, to happen on the journey. Then the traveller sets out in full confidence that he will be safe from those dangers the *mtani* has specified. A Nyakyusa extended this 'going by opposites' to cases of serious illness, in which it was considered very helpful to the patient to call in an *mtani* to prophesy his early demise. 'I see you are soon going to die. It won't be long before I shall be burying you.' On the other hand it appears that the Ngoni accept as true a prophecy of disaster uttered by an *mtani*, for example, that on such-and-such a day some relative, perhaps many miles distant, will die; but it can be averted if the *mtani* accepts a few cents to unsay his words.

Dale, in describing Bondei ceremonies that are a prelude to a hunting expedition, mentions that the hunters' wives are given certain *miko* (taboos) to observe while their men are away, but refers to the *mtani* in this connexion only as making the response '*pepa*', i.e. 'Amen', to an invocation of the ancestors. According to the information given to me, however, the *mtani* was actually the master of these ceremonies. They are said to have been used only when dangerous game, especially buffalo, was expected and so must now be practically obsolete. But the *mtani* decapitated the fowl, from the behaviour of whose headless body auguries as to the behaviour of the game were drawn; he addressed the departing hunters with jesting exhortations not to be too great cowards; he invoked the ancestral spirits to ensure the hunters' safe return; and he it was who reminded the women of their various *miko* of the sympathetic magical type familiar in this connexion.¹

Conclusion

Only a beginning has been made with the mapping of the *utani* ties that bind tribe with tribe all through Tanganyika and beyond. Nor do we know how generally internal *utani* exists; its geographical distribution seems likely to be anomalous. The extent to which the customs connected with *utani* vary from tribe to tribe and the extent to which they are actually practised to-day would require prolonged investigation. Undoubtedly easier communications are breaking down the observances. As between the Chagga and the Pare the forfeit customs are said to be a thing of the past because intercourse is so frequent. Among the Bondei the 'joking' is obsolescent. It seems impossible that Zigua living on the main Turiani-Korogwe road could keep

¹ Frazer, J. G., *The Golden Bough*. Abridged ed., p. 23. London. 1925.

open house for the Nyamwezi, the Sukuma, the Kami, the Luguru, the Hehe, the Gogo, and the Zaramu who now pass in such numbers on their way to work on the sisal estates. And it is obvious that a place like Tanga market, with its admixture of tribes, would be in constant uproar if mutual recrimination, 'April fooling', and forfeiting went on with pristine vigour. Other Western influences must have a damping effect: the *mtani* cannot be called in to dispose of lepers and unlucky children so often as formerly; and missions tend to discourage buffoonery at weddings.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that, even as I have apprehended *utani*, dimly through the medium of men who are most of them expatriate, many of them Christianized, and none of them 'elders', the relationship is a reality throughout Tanganyika and a complicated conception full of apparent contradictions. Past enmity is cited as a necessary precursor of *utani*; yet its present exponents must show for each other a limitless tolerance. A man's *mtani* is his *alter ego*; between them nothing is to be resented and nothing refused, but they are under what is practically a ritual obligation to be constantly and flagrantly rude to each other. The selfsame person performs for him services that no one else can: disposes of his unwanted relatives, cures his ills for him, and, as in the forfeits, saves him from ill luck even when engendered by his own act. A man's *mtani* temporarily takes the place of his corpse in the grave; the *mtani* is preferred to any relative for the ritual shaving of the bereaved and often as executor also. These things would mark the *mtani* as closer than a brother; yet he is regarded as immune from infections that blood relatives greatly dread. Finally, cross an *mtani* and the rollicking leg-pulling fellow can become a sinister creature who is endowed with the power to imprecate the worst evils and whose words have the force of natural law.

POSTSCRIPT

The impression that *utani* is practically undocumented and has been generally overlooked in East Africa is confirmed by several friends of mine in the Tanganyika Administration who have been good enough to read the draft of this paper, and also by the terms of Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown's general theoretical discussion of joking relationships (*Africa*, vol. xiii, 195-210, 1940), which has since reached me.

The short contribution by T. V. Scrivenor in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, no. 4, pp. 72-4 (1937), 'Some notes on *utani*, or the vituperative alliances between clans in the Masasi district', is packed with suggestive details. It should be read by anyone interested in the subject, and I am sorry that I did not have it before me when I wrote the foregoing. It deals with two groups for which I had no information, the Makua and the Tanganyika Yao. In point after point it agrees with what I had elicited for other tribes and it also brings out one duty of *watani* of which I had not heard: the investiture and initiation of the head of the clan having *utani* relations.

I am indebted to Mr. and Mrs. A. T. Culwick for suggestions and criticisms. Mrs. Culwick tells me that they now feel sure that the Bena *walongo* system as described in their book (1935) 'links up with (or is) *utani*'. She generously adds that 'the *utani* clue seems to throw much light on the Bena social system and whole organization of mutual help', which, when their book was being written, had seemed 'so indefinite in its organization and sanctions'.

Mr. T. M. Revington has been good enough to arrange for several Africans, who know

English, to read this paper. He tells me that they passed it as 'correct in every particular', though suggesting that 'of course civilized natives do not share in such foolishness'.

I am much indebted to Mr. J. T. A. Pearce for making independent inquiries at my instigation. He discussed the subject with Zigua, Sambaa, Nyamwezi, and Manyema—the recognition of *utani* by this last tribe extends the system into the Belgian Congo—and has told me that the information given him agreed, in detail as well as in general, with mine. A point of special interest is that he raised with the Amani subordinate court (Sambaa) the question of how they would deal with a complaint by a man against an *mtani* on account of an act, e.g. seizure of property, permitted by *utani*. The elders were unanimous that if the relationship between the parties were proved the court would not take cognizance of the complaint, whether the parties were both Sambaa or both members of alien tribes.

A summary of this article has already appeared in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, no. 12, pp. 1–10, in which I included some further information relating to the Kami; the main points of this are: *a.* Father T. Schaegelen's demonstration that in this tribe 'internal *utani*' holds between second cousins as well as between clans; *b.* The existence of a relationship with the neighbouring Doe tribe, which, though called *utani*, is explicitly stated to have had its origin in mutual convenience.

More recently the Rev. E. Spies ('Observations on *utani* customs among the Ngoni of Songea District', *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, no. 16, pp. 49–53, 1943) has greatly amplified the information I had about this tribe, which may, I think, have been of special importance in the whole East African *utani* system.

Résumé

PARENTÉS À PLAISANTERIES EN TANGANYIKA

Outani est le nom d'un système de parenté à plaisanteries entre différentes tribus et parfois aussi entre familles et clans dans tout le territoire de Tanganyika. Ces parentés sont héréditaires, sans tenir compte de sexe ni d'âge. A l'origine de ces parentés sont des inimitiés parmi les ancêtres des *Ouatani*. Parmi les Ngoni — la seule tribu qui admette de nos jours la création d'un nouveau *Outani* — il est nécessaire d'avoir touché le cadavre au cours d'un ensevelissement pour participer.

La plaisanterie consiste à se taquiner mutuellement, à se jouer des tours, à se faire des poissons d'Avril, à s'imposer des gages. Ces gages semblent avoir le but d'enlever à leur possesseur certains objets qui pourraient porter malheur. Les membres de l'*Outani* ont droit à une hospitalité très étendue; ils peuvent réquisitionner de certains objets et même demander une femme. Tous les *Ouatani* doivent prendre part aux funérailles où ils s'aquittent de fonctions spéciales, telles que l'arrêt de la cérémonie par un participant qui se couche dans la fosse destinée à recevoir le mort. On préfère à un membre de la famille un *Mtani* comme exécuteur testamentaire et pour raser les têtes des proches parents. Les *Ouatani* en outre se chargent de certaines fonctions sanitaires et quasi magiques; ils tuent les enfants porte-malheurs et les lépreux et administrent les biens des lépreux au nom de la famille; ils guérissent certaines maladies et ils ont le pouvoir et le droit d'invoquer les bons et les mauvais esprits.

NUTRITION IN EAST AFRICA

G. M. CULWICK

Paper read at a joint meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute and the International African Institute, 14 April 1944.

BROADLY speaking it is true to say that the Colonial Empire woke up all of a sudden, some eight years ago, to the fact that it was faced with nutritional problems of considerable magnitude. In 1936, as part of the outcome of a debate on world nutrition at Geneva in the previous September, the British Colonial Secretary asked for a report from each colony on the state of nutrition within its borders. The chorus of woe evoked by this was startling in its unanimity¹ and showed that the little heeded scientific voices of the preceding years had after all been saying something of the greatest importance.

With this realization went a growing recognition of the scope and ramifications of nutrition problems. For the impression prevailed at that time, among people in East Africa at least, that nutrition was a private hobby of the medical profession and possibly of a few other specialists—the kindlier critics said ‘specialists’, but others were blunter and said simply ‘cranks and busybodies’! A glance back through the earlier literature on the subject, certainly in East Africa, and, I suspect, in other parts of the Colonial Empire too, goes far to explain this. Indeed, such a misconception was perhaps inevitable for a time, since the first stage was naturally the mainly medical one of establishing the fact of malnutrition and the nature of the diet required for health.

The necessity for a much wider conception of the problem, and for the recognition of its implications in the social, economic, and educational spheres, had been made plain in the work sponsored by the League of Nations. When, in 1936 and 1937, in response to the Colonial Secretary’s dispatch, the Colonies did some serious nutritional stock-taking themselves, they in their turn recognized the same need, and the importance of the closest inter-departmental collaboration, both in investigation and in action. So we find inter-departmental nutrition committees being formed, some of which later underwent transformation into general welfare committees. In view of the very wide context of nutrition, this would seem to be a process of logical development, though it has recently been criticized as being no more than a device for unobtrusively burying the whole subject. Among anthropologists the social context of food and feeding has never, of course, been in danger of being overlooked. I wonder if I dare suggest that, on the contrary, it has sometimes rather tended to overshadow the essential nutritional facts, instead of being their setting.

The two main streams of interest in nutrition in East Africa, that of the International African Institute and that of the British Colonial Office (in association with the Medical Research Council), merged in 1938 in the undertaking of an intensive and comprehensive nutrition survey in Nyasaland, under the scientific direction of Dr. B. S. Platt, of the Medical Research Council. The team included Dr. Margaret

¹ Summary of Information regarding Nutrition in the Colonial Empire, Cmd. 6051, 1939.

Read, appointed by the International Institute, a medical officer and an agricultural officer, both seconded by the Nyasaland Government, a nutritional investigator, and for part of the time, an economic botanist. A survey was also made of the fishery resources of Lake Nyasa, by a team working in close touch with the nutrition survey, out of which, in fact, the fishery survey arose.

I have called the nutrition survey both intensive and comprehensive. It was intensive in that it concentrated on an extremely thorough study of three carefully chosen contrasting villages and a small number of urban households; it was comprehensive in its range and in the detailed nature of the data collected. Unfortunately, publication of the draft report brought home by Dr. Platt in 1940 has been held up by the war, but it is hoped that some of it will appear shortly. In preparing this paper I have had access to this material and also to a paper read by Dr. Platt to the Food and Nutrition Board in Washington, in which he discussed some of the salient features of his work in Nyasaland.

Hand in hand with the investigational work in Nyasaland went experiment and demonstration, in directions indicated by what the team found. For instance, they started a scheme of valley development and water control, accompanied by soil conservation measures and the introduction of new vegetables and fruits. These last, in turn, called for activities on the domestic and propaganda fronts, to discover how best to present the dietary novelties and which kinds stood the best chance of being established. Again, it is obvious that improved nutrition will in practice depend largely on the co-operation of the women. The survey found that the women's time and attention was so heavily mortgaged that the lightening of their daily drudgery would be a necessary preliminary to any positive improvements. I am not referring so much to their increased agricultural burdens, due to the absence of their men-folk at the mines, as to their ordinary domestic routine, which required an expenditure of time and energy out of all proportion to the results achieved—such things as pounding maize, collecting firewood, searching for greenstuffs in the bush and carrying water. Some of the innovations which it was hoped to try out were simple stone mills, rotational cutting of trees for fuel and a charcoal industry, proper use of water for producing greenstuffs all the year round, and the use of cattle as pack animals—but the war put a stop to these as to so many other projects.

By early 1940 arrangements were being made for a Nutrition Unit to continue the work of the survey, but the events of that year, including the fact that war came to East Africa itself, crippled the team from the outset. The Unit did eventually embark on its career in July 1940, but, reduced to a mere maintenance basis before it even started its work, could hope to do little more than to prevent the loss of what had already been accomplished. In the circumstances it could not tackle more than a fraction of the programme which had been planned, and the members tended to work more as individuals, each in his own sphere, than as a co-ordinated team. Staffing difficulties more than anything else brought its career to a close last year.

Turning now to Tanganyika, from 1935 onwards my husband and I, both of us with some anthropological training behind us, had been studying nutrition in a general way in the villages around us, and the advent of Dr. Platt to East Africa drew us more definitely into the nutritional sphere. While waiting for plans for a survey team, which was to consist of ourselves, a medical officer, and an agricultural officer,

to be completed, we were allowed in 1938-9 to give part-time to a qualitative study of nutrition among the banana-eating people of the Bukoba district, west of Lake Victoria. This work was written up in full at Dr. Platt's request, with the idea that it should be a companion volume to his own report, offering a comparison between the results achievable by part-time investigators, necessarily confined almost entirely to qualitative data, and those of a full team collecting detailed quantitative as well as qualitative data. This document was not completed till 1940, by which time all thought of publication had to be abandoned.

After visiting the Nyasaland Survey team in August 1939 and fired with enthusiasm by all we had learned there, we returned to Tanganyika in the last days of that month to begin the intended full-scale survey, but that was just one of the dreams shattered on 3 September 1939.

Of nutrition survey work in other parts of East Africa, I can only speak very much at second hand. Dr. Richards's work in Northern Rhodesia is well-known. In Uganda the medical-agricultural team-work done in the Teso district holds an honourable place in point of time as well as of interest; four short reports on it were published in Uganda in 1937 and 1939.¹ In Kenya there is the comparative study by Orr and Gilks on the Masai and Kikuyu, published in 1931.² A number of clinical and dietary studies of smaller scope have appeared in medical journals,³ the latest no longer ago than last July in an issue of the *East African Medical Journal*⁴ which was devoted entirely to nutrition in Kenya. In 1940 it was proposed to appoint a nutrition unit to work in an experimental area in the Central Province, but this had to be abandoned owing to the war. In Zanzibar, as far as I am aware, only one or two minor dietary and health surveys of limited scope have been undertaken.

Besides the survey work I have described, a considerable number of studies have been made of specific nutritional questions, such as problems of institutional or communal feeding, the nutrient value of local foods, basal metabolism, and studies of individual nutrients and the deficiency conditions related to them. A large proportion of those which have been published will be found in the *East African Medical and Agricultural Journals*.

The general dietary picture painted by all these investigators is the now familiar one of over-dependence on one starchy staple food, accompanied by deficiencies varying both in degree and in kind and often seasonal in their severity. Deficiencies are attributed to some combination of the no less familiar trio—poverty, ignorance, and inefficient husbandry. Although those interested in the subject had long maintained that malnutrition was widespread, many people in East Africa remained unconvinced of its reality and certainly of its extent, until the revelations of the recruiting campaigns startled them out of their complacency. Colonel Farnworth Anderson, an East African doctor who served with the Forces, has stated that in some parts of East Africa the rejections on medical grounds reached the appalling figure of 90 per cent., and that a fairly high proportion of these were on account of malnutrition.⁵

¹ Uganda Agricultural Survey Committee, Nutrition Reports nos. 1 and 2, 1937 and 1939.

² Orr, J. B., and Gilks, J. L., *Studies of Nutrition: The Physique and Health of Two African Tribes*, Medical Research Council, Spec. Rep. Series, No. 155, 1931.

³ See, for instance, the bibliography in *Nutrition*

Research in the British Colonial Empire, Technical Communication No. 8 of the Imperial Bureau of Animal Nutrition, 1937.

⁴ *East African Medical Journal*, xx, 7, 1943.

⁵ T. Farnworth Anderson, 'The Diet of the African Soldier', *East African Medical Journal*, xx, 7, 1943.

In the army the men were put on to a ration scale devised with the utmost care, with dramatic results in the way of improved physique, and they returned home on leave after a few months almost unrecognizable. This practical demonstration has not been lost on the many Europeans who were formerly inclined to scepticism about the existence of any significant amount of malnutrition. It remains to be seen how far it will stir the Africans themselves to effective dissatisfaction with existing conditions.

The picture everywhere is one of inadequate feeding—a grievous falling short of the good mixed diet which spells nutritional health. Deficiencies, both qualitative and quantitative, are met with, combined in varying ways, for a diet deficient in one factor only is very difficult to arrange outside the laboratory. Specific deficiencies may be particularly prominent locally and will differ in different districts according to environment and food habits. Sometimes only certain sections of the community will be affected, and those not necessarily the poorest and most ignorant. There was, for instance, a station in Tanganyika where cases of what was thought to be beri-beri were constantly occurring among the police askaris, though no one else in the station suffered from it, not even their own families. What the answer to the puzzle proved to be I never heard.

In 1941 I spent some months touring Tanganyika studying the feeding problems of the native hospitals. A circular had been issued laying down the general pattern and standard to be followed, but I found that in each place I had in fact to work out the problem from the beginning in order to take into account the varying tastes of the different tribes, to make the most of any advantages in supply peculiar to the place and to get round its special difficulties. It was an object lesson in the possibility of building an adequate diet on the basis of whatever local food habits one encountered, and it impressed upon me most forcibly the conviction that good nutrition does not necessarily require of anyone that he shall switch over to a completely alien feeding pattern. This important point has been stressed in the report of Section 1 of the Hot Springs Conference¹ where we read that 'fortunately, in view of the varying tastes and resources of the people, innumerable combinations of individual foods may be devised, each of which can provide nutrients in suitable proportions and form a nutritionally adequate food supply'. The report goes on to point out that 'to simplify planning and make it flexible, foods can be grouped into broad categories, each with distinctive functions'. This is the line which Dr. Platt had already been taking for some time here in dealing with colonial dietaries, though using a rather different grouping from that shown in the Hot Springs report.

The full list of our categories for colonial diets is as follows:

1. Cereals and substitutes.
2. Pulses.
3. Animal products.
4. Fats and oils.
5. Fresh fruit and vegetables.
6. Salt and minerals.
7. Sugar.
8. Condiments, &c.
9. Beverages.

¹ United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture, Section Report, Cmd. 6461, 1943.

Colonial diets will, I think, be found to fall quite conveniently into this general pattern, though the typical foodstuff for each category is bound to vary. I made use of it recently in preparing simple instructions on good feeding in terms of African foodstuffs. I spoke of 'food clans' and the work they all had to do in keeping people well. The names I used for my clans¹ were flour, bean, meat, fat, leaf and fruit, and lastly salt. Sugar, condiments, and beverages I touched on more lightly, as extras serving various purposes. I do not know yet how this will go over, but my practical experience on the kitchen front in East Africa makes me think that it is likely to be a more intelligible and realistic method of approach to a balanced diet than, for instance, a complicated 'astro-mnemonic' device such as the Food Star given in McCarrison and Fitzgerald Moore's recent publication for Africa.¹

Before I leave the subject of the quality of the diet, I want to draw attention to a common fault of nutrition propaganda for colonial peoples, and that is a tendency for writers to be so preoccupied with the virtues of animal products as to create the impression that without them nothing at all can be done. Things being as they are, I can think of no more discouraging way of presenting the idea of good nutrition to the average African reader. 'What is the good', he may well ask, 'of telling me to eat liver, eggs, butter, and so on if you do not make it possible for me to get them?' Often much is said about the importance of milk, liver, eggs, butter, and so on for vitamin A, but little or nothing about the value of the green leaves and red and yellow fruits which may be at his doorstep. Or it is laid down categorically that a balanced diet must include meat and fish in quantities far beyond the reach of all but a few colonial readers—and indeed of the poor in this country also—without any counterbalancing explanation of how far he can get towards the same goal with a suitable mixture of green leaves, ground-nuts and beans, and a good grain staple. A very great measure of nutritional improvement is indeed immediately within his grasp, or could very easily become so, and it seems to me a serious tactical error to lay all the emphasis on what must inevitably, as a matter of supply, be much longer-term developments. I want to see a more practical and realistic note in nutrition propaganda here and now, as well as encouragement to aim at more distant goals. It is possible to have good nutrition at different standards of living. We may be planning and working towards a higher standard (for example, one including plenty of animal products for everyone), but we should also take notice of the intermediate stages and the possibilities of good nutrition at a simpler and less sophisticated level—in fact, the peasant diet we have heard so much of in our own war-time propaganda.

This leads directly to my next point. Nutrition propaganda of the kind I have been describing directly encourages the sophistication which despises traditional and well-tried foods and old-fashioned methods of food preparation. This process has not gone as far, fortunately, in Africa as in places like the West Indies, but in Africa, too, much that is extremely valuable nutritionally is being discarded with hardly a thought, much also that is of particular importance so long as the diet has to be balanced at what we may call the peasant level. One fairly well-known example is the use of fermentation in food preparation. This, it must be realized, is by no means confined to the preparation of alcoholic beverages; there are many ways in which it is used,

¹ McCarrison, R., and Fitzgerald Moore, D., *Food*, 1943.

and also many traditional processes which you might not at first think of in this connexion because the full fermentation process is not present.

This came out very clearly in Dr. Platt's work in Nyasaland, and one of the lines of investigation which arose out of the Nyasaland Survey, and which is being pursued by the Medical Research Council's Human Nutrition Research Unit (of which Dr. Platt is Director), is a study of the effects of soaking on the nutrient content of grain. The African woman's reason for soaking her maize may simply be that dry grain would bounce out of her mortar and would be difficult to reduce to flour, but in point of fact she has stumbled upon a subtlety of processing whose implications far exceed anything she has dreamt of. She will soak her grain for anything up to 4 or 5 days, and it has been found that, though it does not sprout appreciably, important changes occur in the nutrients by which they are mobilized in a more assimilable form. Economic enterprise takes the same maize, and puts it through a mill without soaking it, and then we wonder why we do not get the same results nutritionally as with flour prepared in the traditional way by the women.

Another example of traditional practice which is sometimes too hastily condemned is the use of plant ashes as a source of so-called salt. The plants collected for this purpose are usually swamp grasses and sedges which are particularly rich in minerals because they grow in localities where salts accumulate. The extract from the ashes is mostly used in cooking green leaves, and the first thing that struck investigators was the fact that its alkalinity destroyed a good deal of the vitamins B₁ and C in the leaves. That was enough to condemn it without more ado. But Dr. Platt found in Nyasaland that very often the chief function of the extract is to soften the fibres of leaves which would otherwise be too tough to eat, and so if you prohibit the use of such 'pot-ashes', the people not only lose the valuable minerals found in the extract itself, but they have to give up eating certain kinds of green leaves altogether and are thus deprived of many valuable nutrients besides vitamins B₁ and C. So the 'pot-ash' question is not so simple as it might seem at first sight.

The same might be said of another so-called reform in the nutritional sphere, namely the pressure exerted by some institutions in the direction of early weaning. Apart from the marital complications bound up with this vexed question, early weaning is usually urged on rather contradictory grounds: first, that two or three years of suckling puts too heavy a strain on the mother, undermining her health, and secondly, that in the later stages she gives the child so very little milk that she might as well wean it. Naturally it undermines her health if she is not being fed well enough herself, but the most fitting solution of this difficulty would appear to be to feed the mother properly, not to deprive the child. If the mother were better fed she would have more to give, and, moreover, little as it is, this is in all too many cases the only milk the baby will ever get. In existing conditions this supplement to the child's diet can ill be spared. The African toddler's existence is precarious enough at best, and I speak of what I have seen myself when I say that the most miserable specimen of an ill-fed bunch is apt to be the child of parents who have tried to follow these so-called progressive ideas. The conclusion is plain. On those who want to discourage prolonged suckling, for whatever reason, lies the responsibility to take positive as well as negative action. It is up to them to make sure that the proper kinds of food, particularly milk, are available for feeding any children they propose to have weaned at

an early age. If they cannot do this, and in present conditions it is more than likely that they cannot, then their efforts would be better directed to seeing that the mother got plenty to eat. For under primitive conditions it is usually much harder to provide foods which a baby can assimilate satisfactorily than it is to feed to the mother foods which she can convert into milk.

Turning now to the quantitative aspect of East African diets, I must admit straight away to being sceptical about the phenomenally low *average* calorie values sometimes arrived at. When you look into them you find that they have been based on two or three very brief, isolated dietary surveys—a week's recording on a few households here at one season plus a week on another small batch somewhere else at another season, and so on. The evidence collected by the Nyasaland Survey shows that the very greatest caution is required in interpreting the data of such brief, isolated surveys, especially in primitive rural communities. The records of the survey were maintained in three villages for a period of ten and a half months, and showed the most abrupt and erratic individual fluctuations within the sweep of the main seasonal curve. Women came home too tired to cook, or there was nothing in the larder to make a side-dish and it was not worth while cooking any porridge, or rain had prevented them from getting any flour ready, and so on. It would not be difficult, I think, to extract from the Nyasaland records a series of small samples which would give a picture very similar to that given by Dr. Richards's Bemba records, for instance.¹ I know that Dr. Richards herself called attention to the limitations of her records, but nevertheless she went on to draw general quantitative conclusions from them about the diet as a whole.

It is, of course, true that the most fragmentary quantitative records will provide information about food habits and social and economic factors, which is both useful in itself and invaluable in the clues it gives the investigator, but such records cannot be made to support reliable quantitative conclusions about intake in general.

In glancing through some of the publications relating to East African nutrition work, I have been interested to notice that short surveys in urban areas seem to show much higher calorie values than similar rural surveys. This appears to hold good for even the poorest urban groups—and they are very poor, and not likely to be eating at a much higher level than similar groups in rural areas. This suggests that possibly more reliance may be placed on short surveys in towns than in rural areas. In the first place, it may be easier to get relatively complete records among people who buy all or nearly all their food than in a peasant community with its network of complicated supply arrangements and its multiplicity of small transactions. Secondly, some of the factors causing violent individual variation in intake in rural areas, especially those factors which affect the women, do not operate in a town. They buy flour and firewood, for instance, and get water from a nearby stand-pipe. Instead of the erratic fluctuations in intake which characterize the rural community, you will probably find in the towns, among those earning a regular wage, a marked but steady up-swing and down-swing based on pay-day.

This leads to a further consideration, and that is, the yardstick used for measuring calorie requirements. Obviously the ideal is to evaluate the requirements of the

¹ Richards, A. I., and Widdowson, E. M., 'A Dietary Study in Northern Rhodesia', *Africa*, ix, 2, 1936; Richards, A. I., *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*, 1939.

particular subjects you are studying, as was done in Nyasaland. There, information was collected about body size and activities as well as about food intake. There was a very well-defined swing in both requirements and intake through the seasons, the former going to greater extremes than the latter. Over the whole period, however, the tendency was for the differences between them to cancel out to within what might be regarded as a margin of experimental error, on the part of the recorders on the one hand, and in the assessment of requirements on the other. Recorded intake might, for instance, be 300 calories below the estimated requirements when both were at their highest, but over the whole period, for the same group, they balanced to within 5 per cent.

It will thus be seen that a simple comparison of intake with standards laid down for labour, or with League of Nations or any other standard, may be highly misleading unless relative output of energy is also considered. It may, however, be impossible to make a special assessment of this kind, and in that case, the expedient of using a more or less arbitrary yardstick will have to be adopted. But its rough and ready nature should be clearly recognized, and conclusions about adequacy of intake arrived at on this basis should be correspondingly cautiously worded.

My last point on this aspect of the subject is that where some generally accepted standard has to be employed instead of estimating actual requirements, two conditions should be observed. First of all, the yardstick chosen should not be entirely irrelevant to the conditions being studied, and secondly, the wide difference between optimal and minimal requirements should not be overlooked. The American N.R.C. values, for instance, to which Dr. Richards referred in her Bemba work, are optimal ones, and should not be taken as representing what the average American is actually getting. In fact, in a recent survey in Tennessee¹ which compared conclusions reached by applying the N.R.C. calorie standards with results arrived at by other methods of assessing adequacy of intake—clinical and so on—the general conclusion was that the N.R.C.'s recommended allowances appeared to be unnecessarily high.

I would suggest the use of the League's standard modified, where necessary, for hot climate and/or small stature, although this will also involve at least a rough estimate of the degree of physical activity. The League has estimated the requirements of a man living in a moderate climate and not doing manual work, at 2,400 calories, and has laid down graded supplements for physical work at several levels. The modified version, which is now widely used for people living under tropical conditions, takes 2,100 calories as the standard for a sedentary life and, as a rough approximation, scales down the work supplements in similar proportions.

I should like to be able to complete this sketch of nutrition work in East Africa by describing the effects of war-time changes on the feeding of the East African peoples and on their nutritional status. But I cannot find any information about this as yet, except in respect of the Army, about which I have already spoken. The paper by Colonel Anderson from which I have quoted (pp. 403-4) shows that the military authorities had great difficulties to overcome in keeping deficiency diseases at bay in

¹ Youmans, J. B., Patton, E. W., and Kerr, R., 'Surveys of the Nutrition of Populations. Description of the Population, General Methods and Procedures, and the Findings in Respect of the Energy

Principle (Calories) in a Rural Population in Middle Tennessee', *Am. J. Pub. Health*, xxxii. 12, 1942, and xxxiii. 1, 1943.

the forward areas, and in the early part of the war they had some trouble with scurvy and vitamin A deficiency. Both problems were eventually solved and mainly, it is pleasant to record, by the use of locally devised and locally produced concentrates. The only outbreak of beri-beri was in a detachment of Somali Frontier Guards who were getting polished rice from Aden, while a few cases of pellagra were attributed to deficiencies existing prior to enlistment. Tropical ulcers, though fairly prevalent among recruits, especially after the general food shortage in East Africa developed, are stated to have been uncommon in soldiers of more than a few months' service, and when an outbreak of 117 cases occurred early in 1943 in Ethiopia and Somaliland, it was confined to Somali Units, and did not touch East African personnel living under identical conditions except in respect of diet.

A matter which may be of very great importance for the future is what is described by Colonel Anderson¹ as 'the revolution which has taken place, due to military service, in the dietetic habits of African troops drawn from nearly 200 different African tribes, from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to Somaliland. Most of these', he writes, 'have their own dietetic preferences and different methods of food preparation, and even the staple diet varies from maize to bananas and from cassava to rice. All these people, with the exception of the Somali, have been induced to accept a common Army ration. The conservatism of the African in the matter of food has to a great extent been broken down; in Ceylon, for example, where maize is unobtainable, he has taken readily to *atta* (wheat flour). It is to be hoped that the break-down of tribal prejudices in regard to food will facilitate a change over, after the war, to a more balanced diet than that to which the African has hitherto been accustomed.'

That there will also be much of very great interest and importance to record about the war-time nutrition of the general population can hardly be doubted, but since it will be a story dominated mainly by drought and food scarcity, it is unlikely to be a very happy one. Even the saddest story, however, has its brighter side, and dire necessity may do more to break down well-entrenched prejudices and to spread new ideas than years of teaching in times of comparative ease.

In conclusion I would draw your attention to a change brought about by the war in the general approach to nutrition problems. Just before the war the main emphasis was on the survey approach. Indeed, when all our survey plans in East Africa were abandoned, it seemed to us who were most directly involved in these disappointments as if nutrition had been 'written off' completely and all interest in it was dead. Yet in another way, and a much more important one, in the hope it holds out of practical results on a large scale, the war has brought nutrition into a position of prominence never enjoyed before. The emphasis has shifted from the survey approach to that of overall food planning, the nutritional foundation on which all well conceived food policies must be built. Though the technical problems are sufficiently numerous to keep many generations of investigators happily employed, nutritional knowledge is now sufficiently advanced for us to be able to establish well-defined targets in terms of foodstuffs appropriate to the tastes, habits, and environment of any people. The Hot Springs Conference gave full expression on a world scale to the idea of deliberately planning food supplies (that is to say, production and import

¹ T. Farnworth Anderson, *op. cit.*

structure and the economic conditions in the Netherlands Indies. The setting up of factories such as the commission had in mind, could only mean the establishment and management of production by Westerners. In that manner the native population could not really participate in further development.'

In the rapid and prosperous development of the Netherlands Indies since 1928, the starting point was the improvement effected in agriculture; this, like the industrial developments which followed, was due to the deliberate policy of the Government, and was achieved, partly by encouraging migration from densely populated Java to uncultivated lands available in the Outer Islands, and partly by irrigation, the introduction of improved agricultural methods, the distribution of high-yielding seeds, and the education of the farmers. By 1935 the Indies were practically self-sufficient as regards food, and the increased prosperity of farmers created a demand for industrial products. Mr. Sitsen gives examples of industries in which it was found possible to manufacture goods, chiefly from local raw materials, at a price lower than that of the imported article, and so to provide purchasing power for more manufactured goods; he classifies the secondary industries of the Netherlands Indies as cottage industries, mainly carried out by agricultural workers in their spare time; small-scale factory industries; mechanized industries on a larger scale, frequently set up as a subsidiary, or built on the experience, of similar factories in highly industrialized countries.

The cottage industries are almost entirely in the hands of the Indonesian farmers; the goods are produced for the greatest part within the family circle and traded locally; there are, however, many instances of cottage industries combining with small-scale or factory industry; for example, in cases where there is a markedly seasonal demand for goods of a perishable nature, such as a certain sort of cigarette, factories frequently give temporary employment to cottage workers, the more readily as the time of increased demand is usually after harvest when agricultural work is slack. A striking example of such a combination is described by the author as follows: 'In the little villages grouped round Soekaboemi, a small town in West Java, situated in a prosperous agricultural district, a fairly important cottage industry existed, making agricultural implements for local use. From this, a small-scale industry developed which extended its programme by making all kinds of cutlery. Here the hammering out of blades, &c. was done in small-scale industrial shops with from four to ten workmen, while the handles, made from horn, bone, wood, or tortoise-shell, were made in the sphere of cottage industry. The knives were subsequently assembled in the shops and were sold locally. . . . Then through instruction and education consumers desired better workmanship. Growing incomes stimulated this demand and this encouraged the workers in small-scale industry to greater efforts. A number of small-scale shops negotiated for closer co-operation and within a couple of years they organized some 1,200 workers into a so-called industrial "central" or co-operative. The central built a finishing plant, for the joint account of its members, in which the most skilled workers from various small-scale workshops were brought together and where polishing machines, boring machines, tempering furnaces, equipment for nickel and chromium plating, &c. were set up. The workshops which were co-operating with the industrial central pledged themselves to bring in every week a specified amount of work, such as blades with the handles made in cottage industry. These semi-finished products were made from materials and models furnished by the central; they were delivered to the central for a reasonable price, jointly decided upon by the members. . . . It was an accepted principle that profits should be shared by the workshops according to the quantity of goods they had delivered, while the elected management of the central exercised a certain authority in deciding the uses to which the money should be put. In principle, it was agreed that part of the profits was to be spent on better tools for improving the affiliated small-scale shops.' Mr. Sitsen admits that earnings

both in cottage and small-scale industry are low, but hours of work are short; the earnings of workers employed by a 'central' are equivalent to agricultural earnings.

There are many centrals of the sort described, often combining cottage, small-scale, and factory industry in one organization; Mr. Sitsen attributes the success of this form of organization in part to the sense of obligation to the community, which is very marked in Indonesian society. This sense of obligation to give mutual assistance, which formerly operated only within the village community, has been successfully widened, so that the cottage and small-scale workers feel an obligation towards the central and look upon it as part of their community; they therefore feel obliged to do good work and to deliver their quota of goods at the right time.

Small-scale industry employs by far the greater number of Indonesian industrial workers, and is mainly controlled and managed by Indonesians. Factory industry has also expanded greatly during recent years; the mechanization of farming necessitated repair and tool shops; export of agricultural products led to the development of shipyards and dry-docks; with the increasing demand for consumer goods, it became profitable to develop local mechanized production. The management of large-scale factories is still largely in the hands of Europeans, owing to the fact that there are not yet enough Indonesians with the necessary training and experience.

In guiding and controlling the industrial development of the Netherlands Indies, the first step taken by the Government was to assist the farmers, not only by educating them in the use of improved methods and by increasing the area under cultivation, but also by reducing land taxes and extending credit facilities; thus not only was the total income from agriculture increased, but the income was distributed so that the purchasing power of individual farmers was raised. The Government has also engaged in educational and propaganda campaigns in order to extend the demand for new commodities. A special department of Government, the Industrial Division of the Department of Economic Affairs, was formed which concerned itself with the regulation of production, with scientific and technical research, and with education and propaganda. By means of a system of quotas, the market was kept open for domestic textiles, while a licensing system regulated production so as to 'guard against exhausting price wars, against a cartelization of the large factories to the detriment of the smaller ones, against a socially unwarrantable division of incomes, &c.'

An institution for Scientific Industrial Research, founded by Government, studied the technical and economic aspects of the various industries, and carried out chemical, technical, and analytical research, the testing and inspecting of materials, and experiments in the processing of raw materials; a special office was set up in 1940 to investigate the possibilities of new branches of industry and the advisability of establishing specific industries, having regard to the economic and structural expansion of industry as a whole.

In order to make these services generally available to all industries, an extensive education service was established by Government, including industrial laboratories and institutes in different places, consultative offices, technical instructors, and a staff of travelling vocational teachers. Of these, Mr. Sitsen writes: 'This institution differs from the others mentioned in that it is probably peculiar to the Indies. The travelling vocational teachers are chosen from the best Indonesian craftsmen and are given special training. . . . They travel with one or two assistants and good, simple tools, calling on thousands of workshops and teaching the use of good equipment, of moulds, &c., to everyone from the apprentice to the boss. They explain the proper use of the proper materials; keep the craftsmen informed of price fluctuations and explain how to figure cost prices, how to judge the quality of raw materials, &c. These teachers are not white-collar men who stand up before the class, but workmen. They travel around in their overalls and demonstrate the better techniques themselves.'

In conclusion the author gives a comprehensive analysis of the raw materials, and sources of power available, or likely to be developed, in the Netherlands Indies, and relates the industrial expansion of the Indies to conditions of world trade in the future. He points out that, while the development of local industries has benefited the Indonesian population by freeing it from the effects of price fluctuations operating in the highly industrialized countries of the rest of the world, the Netherlands Indies will continue to need imports of machinery, metals, dairy produce, &c., and to export raw materials. If the lands producing raw materials are to prosper, it will be necessary for favourable rates of exchange to prevail, otherwise they may be forced into adopting a policy aiming at self-sufficiency in capital goods and commodities, which will greatly retard their progress.

The key to a satisfactory development is the prosperity of the farmer; further, for many years small-scale industry will continue to be a cheaper producer than the western organized mechanized factory. Mr. Sitsen outlines the principles on which the Government's policy during the last ten years has been based, 'that activity on the part of the population itself, even if on a small scale at first, should be considered as more important than the establishment locally of foreign enterprises. That the carrying through of general measures [to achieve this end] would develop the possibility of important migrations of workers from primary to small-scale secondary industry. This would bring possibilities for Indonesian leadership; this, in turn, would encourage the spontaneous establishment of larger enterprises which, not being artificially created, would grow in a sound and strong manner, while balanced relations would be maintained between local production and local consumption, between export production and imports from other countries. . . . The results obtained demonstrate that the policy followed in these ten years has been efficacious.'

Société d'Études Camerounaises

WE have received a letter from the President of the Société d'Études Camerounaises, at Douala, informing us that the Société has been reconstituted and has resumed publication of its Bulletin, the first numbers of which appeared shortly before the war. We have received two issues of the Bulletin, dated July and November 1943; the July number contains an ethnological sketch of the principal tribes of the French Cameroons, giving particulars of their origins and geographical distribution, short descriptions of their physical characteristics, and brief notes on their history. The survey is necessarily somewhat cursory, but it is designed as a guide to further study. The November number contains an article on 'Pratiques de Divination Massa et Toupouri', a study of 'Des Négrilles de la Région de Haut-hyoung', and a questionnaire intended as a guide in making a survey of oral literature.

Applications for membership of the Society should be addressed to the President, and correspondence relating to the Bulletin, to the Secretary, Madame Dugast, Douala, Cameroun Français.

Africans studying in the United States

THE Phelps-Stokes Fund have recently issued a short memorandum on 'Information for Africans planning to study in the United States of America'. It has been drawn up in consultation with government officials in Washington, representative African students in the United States, and the officers of various Boards and Institutions who have had experience with foreign students, especially those from Africa. Copies can be obtained from The Phelps-Stokes Fund, 101 Park Avenue, New York 17, N.Y., U.S.A.

Post-War Planning in Nigeria

A SPECIAL branch has been set up in the Nigerian Government Secretariat to deal with post-war planning and reconstruction. Mr. F. E. V. Smith, who is at present Commissioner of Commerce and Industries in Jamaica, is to be in charge. Mr. J. N. Oliphant, C.M.G., M.B.E., who has been appointed to advise the new branch on rural development, was Chief Conservator of Forests from 1939 to 1943 in Nigeria. In the January issue of the *Crown Colonist* Mr. Oliphant argues the case for planning and control of land use, and for a policy directed to the conservation of soil and vegetation. He is strongly opposed to schemes which involve exhaustion without replacement of natural resources. 'That most important of all natural resources', he writes, 'the soil, must be kept in good heart and the fertility of the land maintained; water supply and climactic amenities must be conserved; forest that is cut must be replanted or regenerated. . . .' The Nigerian Forest department has for some time strongly advocated the need for the planning and control of land use. It is now clear that the stage has been reached where a general campaign by all the rural Departments, co-ordinated by the Administrative Service, is needed. Mr. Oliphant points out that in the training of forest staff at the Forest School in Ibadan, land use studies are already included, and that the forest staff could help in the enforcement of regulations directed against the misuse of land; he also reports that the reaction of the more progressive Native Authorities to early efforts in rural planning has been definitely encouraging.

Uganda's Weaving Industry

THE development of the weaving industry in Uganda is noted in *The African World* of 25 March 1944. New spinning apparatus is being designed to speed up the development of the spinning and weaving industry. The textile workshops, run by the Uganda Industrial Committee, have now been working for rather more than a year and have trained more than 400 African workers. The trained spinners and weavers are being encouraged to return to their own villages in order to spread the industry, and three new instruction centres have already been set up. 'The largest buyers of the workshops' output during the year have been the Polish camps in Uganda, which purchased £460 worth of woven goods.

An African Linguist

WE are very happy to note the recent award of the M.B.E. to Mr. C. A. Akrofi, whose valuable work on the Twi and Akan languages is no doubt well-known to many of the readers of *Africa*. Mr. Akrofi, who taught for twenty years in the Presbyterian Training College at Akropong, has made an extensive study of the Akan language which, with varying dialects, is spoken by some 800,000 to 1,000,000 people over a wide area in the Gold Coast and Ashanti. In addition to his *Grammar of Twi* and *Twi Spelling Book*, written for use in Gold Coast schools, Mr. Akrofi has supervised and edited a number of other books, of which Dr. Ida Ward writes: 'In number and quality these publications rank high among vernacular work in any part of Africa, and if literary activity is spreading in the area, some at least of the credit is due to Mr. Akrofi, either because of his direct encouragement, or by the very fact of his having devoted a life-time to its study. . . . The award of this honour is a sign of the importance of vernacular studies in Africa, and is particularly to be welcomed at this moment when adult and mass education plans are to be put into action.'

Reviews of Books

Akokoaso: A Survey of a Gold Coast Village. By W. H. Beckett. Published by the Gold Coast Government. London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 10, Percy Lund, Humphries and Co. Ltd. 1943. Pp. viii+96. 8s. 6d.

AKOKOASO is a small village in the central province of the Gold Coast Colony, in the heart of the cocoa country. For some years it has been used as a sort of sociological guinea-pig, and the data gleaned from its reactions to the modern cocoa economy have been at the disposal of the Government. Mr. Beckett has now published a report of the intensive survey he directed in this Gold Coast 'Middletown' during the period 1932-5. In the introduction he defines the main object of the survey as the acquisition of a detailed picture of Akokoaso, particularly in relation to the cocoa industry, with the subsidiary object of collecting precise information on the local use of land, labour, and capital in agriculture. The first, and longest, section of the report gives a broad picture of the village and its inhabitants, their housing, occupations, and family economy. The second describes the system of land tenure, the methods of cultivation, and the value and yields of cocoa and other crops. The final section gives a statistical analysis of costs of production and of earnings. Throughout the emphasis is on the cocoa industry, and its effect on every aspect of the community life. One is tempted to believe that the very name of the village reflects its dependence on this stranger-crop, till its origin is revealed as something less obvious and utilitarian.

Akokoaso has just over a thousand inhabitants. It is a fairly homogeneous community, 80 per cent. of its members being of the Akim tribe, and 15 per cent. being immigrants from their close relations the Ashantis; the remaining 5 per cent. comprises Lagosians, Togolandese, and labourers from the Northern Territories, all attracted by the cocoa, of which the village's annual output, in the period 1932-5, was worth just over £2,000. The village contains 153 compound houses, which works out at just under 8 persons to a house, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ per room. There is, therefore, no serious problem of overcrowding here, and the figure gives a salutary correction of the too prevalent conception of teeming Gold Coast compounds—a conception formed by a cursory glance at Accra, Sekondi, and other industrial centres where the housing problem has for long been acute. Eighty-two per cent. of the total adult male population as well as 56 per cent. of the adult females are whole- or part-time (cocoa) farmers. Specialization is confined to five professions: tailoring, midwifery, letter-writing, teaching, and (with one exception) cocoa-buying. Mr. Beckett does not say so, but one imagines that these specialists are all 'strangers'. It is interesting, incidentally, to find that the only two tailors in the village are women. It is not stated whether they tailor for women only or for men as well. In neighbouring Ashanti, men's tailoring is done only by men and tailoring is rarely a whole-time profession for women.

The staple foods of these forest-dwellers are plantain and coco-yam, carbohydrates forming 90 per cent. of the average diet. The principal sources of meat are home-reared mutton, wild snails, venison, and dried fish from the coast, but these together only constitute $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. by weight of the daily meal. These figures bear out the general picture of nutrition in West Africa, which is causing anxiety to the health authorities. A small bright spot in this dismal picture of malnutrition is the fact that the intake of mineral salts is much higher than the standard (whatever that may be) for tropical countries; for some reason, the West Coast is always considered to be deficient in these items. In Mr. Beckett's view the position is actually worse than these figures indicate, since the cooking is of a very primitive sort and destructive of vitamins. If, as he seems to suggest, the remedy must await the multiplication

of girls' schools with their domestic science training, the sound of the *fufu* stick is not likely to disappear from the Gold Coast symphony for many decades yet.

The longest chapter of the book is devoted to an examination of indebtedness. The evidence of this economic maladjustment is as distressing as that of dietetic deficiency. Mr. Beckett estimates the total debt on the village, including both public (Stool) and private debts, at £6,495, with an annual charge of £3,320; in other words, £5. 10s. per head of the population, and an annual charge of £2. 16s. About a third of this is due to land litigation (the public debt) while most of the rest consists of private loans to individuals. Mortgages on farms rather surprisingly account for only 11 per cent. of the total private, or family, debts. Interest rates are extortionate, even when the poor value of the security is taken into account, and are seldom less than 50 per cent. The Money-lenders Ordinance, which fixes the rate of interest at 15 per cent. on a first charge security, is for obvious reasons largely inoperative and it does not affect the advance sales transactions which for a long time have exacerbated the effects on the Gold Coast Farmers' economy of fluctuations in world commodity prices. These figures are disturbing enough in themselves, and are doubly so when put beside the sum of £3. 13s. which Mr. Beckett gives as the average annual cash income per head. More than half the villagers are in debt, and twelve of the two hundred families can never expect to raise themselves out of it. After this it is disappointing to read that the local co-operative society has been unable to mitigate the evil to any appreciable extent, and Mr. Beckett concludes that methods more effective than the Producers' Societies as at present constituted are needed to stave off the 'indianization' of the farmers.

The last section of the survey is of more direct interest to the agriculturalist than to the student of social conditions, but it contains very informative statistics on the age and yields of cocoa farms and the returns on the land, labour, and capital involved.

Mr. Beckett's survey is such a model of exhaustive analysis and lucid exposition that one is reluctant to criticize him for not being what he does not claim to be. Mr. Beckett is an agriculturalist-statistician and not an anthropologist, and it is from the anthropological point of view that the defects of his report are evident. He himself admits that the collection of sociological data took third place among his objectives. His methodology was that of the questionnaire, elaborated by the personal investigations of his African staff. Cross-checks of various kinds were employed, and when examining such matters as cocoa age-yields, the farming calendar, hours of work, and rates of earnings, no doubt these were complete. But in dealing with the less tangible aspects of Akokoaso's economy, such methods are clearly liable to a wide margin of error. The chapter on indebtedness, for example, most probably does not present the full picture in all its disheartening detail. One would expect to find traces of *nsa* (rum), the payment of a few pounds every now and then by a debtor to his creditor by which the former buys more time to pay, but which counts as payment neither on account of interest nor of capital. This pernicious system is common in Ashanti, and several instances have been noted where the effective rate of interest has thereby been raised to well over the normal 50 per cent. Further light might have been thrown on this vital problem if it had been considered in association with the complex of family relationships. But Mr. Beckett has little to say about the family system of the Akokoaso people beyond a brief reference to matrilineal descent, and it is not at all clear what he means by the 'family' which he uses as the unit in most of his statistics. Again, the section on land tenure gives far too brief a sketch of the situation for a proper understanding of the setting in which the farmer grapples with his cocoa problems. 'Stool lands', 'family rights', 'clan rights', are mentioned without definition. It is stated that less than one fifth of the (cultivated?) land is under individual ownership, but it is not clear what social or legal recognition, if any, is accorded to local sales of land.

That many other questions arise as one reads, is, however, only a measure of the interest

which Mr. Beckett arouses in the reader. He has so much of importance to reveal that one's appetite is roused to demand the whole story. Why is Friday the rest day? What are the 'magicians' and 'ju-jus' he mentions? What is Akokoaso's political and economic position in the whole tribal setting? And so on. If only an anthropologist could have been associated with the survey, Mr. Beckett's data and analysis could have been related to the wider social setting and their value greatly enhanced. With so much already done; perhaps the sociological department of the new Institute of West African Arts, Industries, and Social Science may be persuaded to finish the job. Its completion would be of really first-class importance to sociologists and administrators alike. These regrets and hopes, however, are in no way intended to detract from the undoubted merit of Mr. Beckett's work as it stands. He deserves our gratitude for an extremely valuable contribution to African sociological studies, the very limitations of which should provide a stimulus to further sociological inquiries of the sort so urgently needed throughout Africa.

P. H. CANHAM

Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Social, Health and Economic Conditions of Urban Natives, printed by the Government Printers, Pretoria, 1942.

IN South Africa, as in Great Britain, the war has seen the planning of some great measures of social reform, if not their actual execution. A Government Social Security Committee has made some remarkable proposals for extending social insurance of some kind or other to each of the racial groups in South Africa—European, Coloured, Indian, and Native. Some of its recommendations may be reckoned as the first attempt to provide a Beveridge scheme for the mass of the Native population in any African territory, and the proposals to give old age pensions to Natives have already apparently been implemented. Important measures have also been proposed by the Social and Economic Planning Council, which has recommended the subsidizing of food for all racial groups, and has made proposals which should ensure that in thirty years' time every African child should have a free primary education.¹ Another committee has been dealing with wages for Africans in the mining industry. The present report was prepared by a Committee which had as its terms of reference 'to explore possible ways, other than increasing wages, of improving the economic, social and health conditions of Natives in urban areas, to collate facts, and to make suggestions to the Government as to what is practicable in the above directions'. With this directive it has covered a wide field, including labour questions, native trade unionism, the nutrition of urban Natives, their health, housing, educational and vocational training, recreation and other amenities, transport and trading facilities.

It is in many ways a notable report, and those responsible for urban administration in other parts of Africa will certainly have much to learn from it. Most African municipalities are facing the same essential difficulty, that of providing the basic social services for two, or even more, sections of an urban community which are separated by extreme differences in wage-rates, standards of living and education, as well as being divided by cultural and linguistic barriers and often by mutual suspicion and hostility. Municipal government in such dual or multiple communities is in fact becoming a distinct type of public administration requiring special study. Detailed recommendations for the provision of social services for Africans living in European towns are therefore of considerable importance, from whatever territory they come. Reports on urban conditions in the Union are of particular interest in this respect, for the South African municipalities have done pioneer work in a number of fields of native welfare.

Urban authorities in South Africa have many special difficulties to face. The segregation of the African people is carried to more extreme lengths than elsewhere in the continent,

¹ See an article 'Africa on the March', by Senator Brookes, in *The Forum*, April, 1944.

and this principle cuts across schemes for housing, health, education, and economic production for Natives, as well as the financing of their social services. A section of the European public is hostile to the idea of native development. The conditions of urban Natives are inevitably worse in many of the towns in the Union than in those in the newer industrial areas, such as Northern Rhodesia for instance, since the long term effects of poverty and bad housing are showing themselves in the form of lowered health, vitality, and output. Nevertheless the machinery of social welfare is obviously more developed in South Africa than in any British Colony in the same continent. The Union Government has its Social Welfare Department which is already beginning to turn its attention to native problems, and the larger municipalities also have native affairs departments. Johannesburg has attached to this department a social research and welfare section which might well be imitated elsewhere. The Wages Board also, in fixing minimum wages for unskilled native workers, has proved an exceedingly useful piece of social machinery. South Africa has also the advantage of possessing four Universities and several research institutes, giving her a larger reservoir of scientists to draw on than any other African Government has at present and more possibility of continuous research. Hence the number of useful social, economic, and medical surveys available for this, and other Government committees, to base their investigations on.

The members of the Committee evidently took their work seriously. They visited a number of the smaller towns where conditions are naturally worse than in the richer municipalities such as Cape Town, Durban, and the Rand. Evidence was heard from 154 Africans as well as 262 Europeans. This evidence is not printed, but the views of the different sections of the community are referred to here and there in the report.

The general conditions described are disturbing. The report points out that the average monthly expenditure of Natives living in Johannesburg varies from £7. 5s. 0d. to £7. 14s. 0d. for a family of 5; but the average monthly earnings in 35 industries, including municipal employees, was £5. 2s. 11d. according to a recent Wage Board inquiry. The gap between wages and the barest standard of living is quite unbridgeable for a man whose wife does not, or cannot, work whole time. Moreover even the top figure of £7. 14s. 0d. gives the actual expenditure, not an adequate one. It is based on a marginal and not an optimum dietary. As Professor Batson has written in a report on conditions in Cape Town, 'It is not a human standard of living'. It allows nothing for education, recreation, saving, medicine, replacement of furniture and clothes, or newspapers. The results of the poverty of the urban Native are written large in the street, the workshops, and the hospitals. Malnutrition is frankly described in the Report as 'appalling'. Five per cent. of the deaths in a large native hospital were directly attributed to this cause, while deficiency diseases and their mental sequelae are widespread, and the general health rate is lowered by lack of resistance to disease. Infant mortality is reckoned at 200-300 per thousand. Poverty and bad housing affect the V.D. rate and 22 per cent. of infant deaths in one hospital were attributed to this cause. The Committee is at pains to prove to the general public in South Africa that a health record of this kind is too expensive for the country to bear. The cost of medical treatment, inadequate though it obviously is, is higher than that of preventive measures in the form of better housing and conditions.

It is clear that the writers of the Report consider that the real remedy for the trouble is the raising of the wage rate for the unskilled Native, but wages were specifically excluded from their terms of reference, and though they discuss various means of raising wages, their views are rather inconclusive. They point to various municipalities which have voluntarily raised the wages of their employees and hope that such influence will gradually cause a general rise in wages.

The Committee's recommendations are therefore mostly palliative, but as such there are

some that will have very far-reaching effects if adopted. The most important are those that deal with finance. Local authorities have been obliged to keep separate Native Revenue accounts made up from native rents, proceeds from beer-halls and the like. From this account municipalities have tried to finance all the social services for native locations, including such basic services as sanitation, lighting, water, policing, housing. The poorest section of the community has therefore been bearing the whole expense of its social services, with fatal consequences. The Committee strongly recommend that municipalities should be responsible for contributing to native welfare from their general account, and that the Central Government also should subsidize essential services, especially in the case of the poorer towns. It recommends that the Union Government should pay subsidies of 50 per cent. of the cost of communal feeding, and up to 75 per cent. for crèches and other grants to maternity, infant welfare, and other health services. This implies a big departure in municipal development in South Africa, and should mean that financial segregation for the urban Native is at an end.

The recommendations of the Committee on specific points are too detailed to summarize here. On the labour side the most important are the proposals for the administrative recognition of native trade unions, which cannot be legally registered as unions under the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1937, although some exist. The setting up of labour exchanges is also advocated. Malnutrition is to be combated by communal feeding in certain cases, with priority to be given to the pre-school child, the pregnant mother, and the school child. The Committee describes with approval the work of the Housecraft demonstrator attached to the municipal native affairs department of Johannesburg and her work in encouraging co-operative buying by native housewives. Municipal supply of milk, fruit, and vegetables at cost price to urban Natives, which has already proved successful, is encouraged, and a system of boys' vegetable allotments is recommended as a means of combating malnutrition and juvenile delinquency simultaneously! Some of these measures should put an end to a situation which was formerly common, i.e. native children suffering from avitaminosis in one of the great fruit-producing countries of the world. The housing section deals at great length with the problem of speeding up native housing schemes, and reducing their cost. A research branch for native housing to be attached to the Central Housing Council is proposed, and the Committee also recommends, with considerable courage, the use of native builders, with their lower wage rates, for native housing schemes. The Bloemfontein experiments in allowing Natives to build their own houses under control are also referred to with cautious approval. It is recommended that certain housing developments should be made compulsory.

The health recommendations deal chiefly with preventive measures such as improved sanitation and water supply. Big extensions of the native nursing, midwife, and health visitor services are also proposed, as well as increased hospital accommodation. Under the heading of 'social services' the Committee recommend higher rates of poor relief, and better provision for blind and incapacitated Natives, the extension of juvenile clubs and recreational facilities, and the much wider use of trained Native welfare workers, for whom subsidies are suggested. An interesting proposal is that for the establishment of Juvenile Welfare Boards to be attached to municipalities and to deal with the employment, training, and care of young people. Improvements in transport for the native population, better facilities for trading, and the abolition of the Pass Laws are also advocated.

Other African Governments will probably have most to learn from the sections on housing, nutrition, and poor relief, but the whole attitude of the Committee is constructive, and, in its particular political setting, courageous. One hopes that its successors will show some definite recognition of the fact that there are many educated Africans well able to play a leading part in the improvement of conditions for the town-dwelling Native, and in

developing a new sense of communal life in some of the locations and Native townships. There must also be many able to play a helpful role as members of committees such as this. Will the South African municipalities be successful in their gigantic task of raising the standard of living of the urban Native unless they are able to command his voluntary help and support and to provide him with very much greater opportunities for local self-government and leadership? This is an aspect of native welfare that is not considered in the present Report.

A. I. RICHARDS

British Enterprise in Nigeria. By ARTHUR NORTON COOK. 1943. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. Pp. 330. 21s. 6d.

VERY little attention has been paid to the history of Africa by American scholars. It is true that some of the most important contributions to the subject have come from the United States—the works of Beer, Buell, and Rudin, for instance; but though such studies have been of a high quality, there have been far too few of them. This has had deplorable results. It has meant that the unfounded charges of anti-imperialists have been taken at their face value: the true process of modern imperialism, its objectives, its difficulties, and its successes, have been widely misunderstood, and so the case for its defence has gone unstated. This study of Nigeria by Professor Cook of Temple University, Pennsylvania, is therefore doubly welcome: as a piece of carefully-documented history, and as a detached, unbiased account of one of the major achievements of British imperialism.

On the historical side Professor Cook has, with one exception, no important new evidence to offer. For the most part he has used only the published material. The early history of the British penetration of Nigeria still awaits full discussion: there are many important documents yet to be used in the Public Record Office, as well as others among the Additional Manuscripts at the British Museum and in the archives, public and private, of such cities as London, Bristol, and Liverpool. Professor Cook has, however, had access to the surviving papers of the Royal Niger Company. It is necessary to say ‘surviving’ because Sir George Goldie, in his mysterious passion for secrecy, destroyed the bulk of them himself, to our great loss. Those that remain are apparently ‘very disappointing’. But at least Professor Cook has reached a valuable negative conclusion: we know now how little can be extracted from the Company’s archives.

For the rest, his narrative is based upon a full use of the printed records, particularly of the Parliamentary Papers: it is straightforward, well balanced, and clear. Since he does not seem to have been able to visit Nigeria himself, his book is naturally concerned almost wholly with politics and economics. It gives the fullest account we have yet had of the development of British rule from the annexation of Lagos in 1861 to the present day: at the same time, for a well-rounded historical description of the whole country and its people, Sir Alan Burns remains the standard authority.

But what Professor Cook may lack in intimate acquaintance with Nigeria itself, he more than makes up for in his illuminating comments on the imperial process in general and the British Empire in particular. He talks no nonsense about the inherent wickedness of empire-building. ‘The Nigerian experiment’, we read in the introduction, ‘indicates that imperialism is not necessarily vicious and that it is possible for an advanced country to extend its control over weaker peoples to their mutual advantage.’ Again: ‘It is a serious error to conclude that colonial governments are the complaisant tools of capitalistic interests, or that it is impossible to control economic forces and afford protection to native communities against the shattering impact of more advanced civilizations. British experience in Nigeria indicates very clearly that while imperialism has not developed out of any altruistic desire

to "civilize" the native, it may contribute to an improvement of the conditions under which he lives.'

Such common sense is refreshing, and the same note of liberal realism is sounded throughout the book. It comes out very clearly in Professor Cook's treatment of the economic motives behind imperialism. He does not in the least minimize them: he sets out with care the part played by commerce—and especially by the Royal Niger Company and its successors—in building up Nigeria. But he recognizes that that is not the whole story, indeed no more than half of it. 'It is clear, of course,' he says, 'that business groups were interested in securing profits, but it is important to recognize the fact that idealism was a factor of equal importance. . . . The men who made Nigeria were not primarily concerned with profits. They did not acquire personal wealth, nor were they the paid agents of British capitalists.' And finally—a sentence that ought to be printed in red letters on the title-page of every study of imperialism: 'there is nothing that is inherently vicious about commerce unless it is accompanied by ruthless exploitation.' That may seem an elementary point, but it is consistently ignored by some critics of the British Empire.

This does not mean that Professor Cook is a partial advocate for the entire British record in Nigeria. Certainly not. He accepts, perhaps with too little question, the criticisms levelled at the administration by Mr. Crocker: in earlier years he rightly condemns Johnston's disingenuous behaviour towards King Jaja, and he is clearly doubtful of the wisdom and good faith of the treatment accorded to Nana and to the people of Brass. But all this is no more than fair comment on some questions that are still open. In general, his aim has been rather to understand British rule in Nigeria than to sit in judgement upon it, and he has set forth the story with striking sympathy and candour.

JACK SIMMONS

Chief Above and Chief Below. A musical play for Africans. By HUGH TRACEY and K. E. MASINGA. 1944. Shuter & Shooter, Pietermaritzburg. Pp. 95, 6 plates.

It would be interesting to guess what, exactly, this little book could mean to anyone who knew nothing of the African background. For the book is that rare thing, a tale told in the African manner for African ears, told and sung and danced. Here, with the important exception of the English translation which stands opposite the Zulu text on each page, there is no attempt at interpreting a purely African thing to complex Western minds; and even in his translation Mr. Tracey has made no real concessions on this point. His object in translating the play at all is not, in fact, to make it available to English readers. As he says himself in his straightforward and sincere introduction, 'We present the play both in English and in Zulu in the hope that it will be translated into other Bantu languages as well.'

The play was not written. It grew out of what was obviously a most faithful collaboration between Mr. Tracey and Mr. Masinga. It had been told him, said Mr. Masinga, by his mother and she had heard it from her grandmother, and so on back and back to the days of the Great Chief. The dialogue was agreed upon between the two authors, and written in Zulu in the first place, so that it might lose none of its natural qualities. And because of that carefully African approach, the play, even in English, has kept its natural idiom. The rhythm has been kept, too, in the repetition of phrases in the songs, in the simple, economical speech, in the dances. Even in print there is the beat of the drums, the thudding of earth-shaking feet, the shrill wailing songs of the women, the excited chatter of children, the booming of the great praise-songs for the Chief, the gladness of the working songs of the people. It is a piece of the authentic Africa. Not the Africa of the ferment, of the restlessness of peoples often oppressed, always perplexed, by the advance of Western civilization. It is the old Africa—fading quickly now—but strong enough still to make an African, wherever he may be, whatever he may be doing, in mines and towns and factories, want to

dance and sing. The thing which drives him home from time to time to plough and hoe his little patch of mealie land beside his poor hut, and to beget children.

What is there, then, in the play for the English reader with no first-hand knowledge of Africa? There is the story itself. That would, I am certain, have a universal appeal, for in its simplicity, its earthiness, it has all the essential qualities which give it a place beside the great folk-tales and fairy-tales of the world. It is the story of the courtship of the beautiful daughter of Chief Above by the Chief Below, and it tells how, after many trials and sorrows, she brought, through that marriage, happiness and prosperity to her people. The Legend 'as told by *Siphezi Sana (kaSinono Seme)* Masinga' begins in traditional style:

Once upon a time
There was a great Chief of All-Above-Ground
Who had a very beautiful Daughter.
Now the daughter was much sought after in marriage
By the young men. But she refused every one.

Then the Chief of Down-Below-Ground, her greatest admirer, begins his courtship.

He sends first his old men, his elder councillors, to plead for him. But she refuses the glories they offer. The young men of Chief Below then come with their wild dances and their flattery and their boasts. But the Daughter's head is not turned by them either. The young women come, but their only achievement is to attract the attention of all the young men of Chief Above. And then, in a lovely scene, the little children of Chief Below are sent to entice the Daughter with their games and their laughter. The Daughter is tempted. She plays with the children and gives them berries to eat, and she is moved by the speech of a little girl:

Daughter, you are so beautiful,
You wear such lovely beads,
You love us—I know you do—
And you play with us too—
I wish you'd come home with us to our village.

But still she cannot make up her mind to go, and in the end it is the jester, that immortal, prancing figure of all African dances, who lures her away. Chief Above is so distressed at the loss of his daughter that he orders the tribe to fast and not to till the soil until she is found again. The people are almost at their last gasp when an old woman picking herbs finds the way to the country below ground, and brings the daughter back. She comes with her new-born baby in her arms, and feeds her starving people, who go off singing to the fields to prepare the soil for the crops. Fertility is come again to the People Above Ground.

In the simple treatment the authors have given it, that legend stands on its own merits. And, apart from the presentation of the legend, the authors have contrived admirably, though not as one of their main purposes, to give an English reader a vivid impression of the tribal life which is affected by the action of the play. And in the six illustrations, with their firm wood-cut effects, the artist, E. F. Watkins, helps enormously to fill in the picture.

I believe the English reader, with no knowledge of Africa, would respond to this play. But I believe that an English audience would respond to it too, if it could see it performed with all the vigour, agility, and enthusiasm which Africans alone could put into it. I should like to see it done one summer night, in the open, on English grass. And I think that any average English audience, seeing and hearing that performance, would begin to understand Africa, and to love it.

J. GRENFELL-WILLIAMS

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CURRENT LITERATURE DEALING WITH AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Prepared in co-operation with the Colonial Department of the Institute of Education, International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and Mr. Julius Lewin of the Witwatersrand University, South Africa.

The Bibliography aims at giving a survey of the most important books and articles dealing with African languages and cultures. Entries in this number cover publications received from March to May 1944.

A list of abbreviations of the titles of journals will be found at the end of the bibliography.

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ABBREVIATIONS OF TITLES OF PERIODICALS USED IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

(The figures following the title of a periodical indicate the volume—in black type—and number.)

Afr. St.	African Studies.	EAMJ	East African Medical Journal.
Am. Anth.	American Anthropologist.	Ed. Afr.	Education Africaine.
Am. J. Soc.	American Journal of Sociology.	Geogr. J.	Geographical Journal.
BJIDCC	Bulletin des Juridictions Indigènes et du Droit Coutumier Congolais.	IRM	International Review of Missions.
BSEC	Bulletin de la Société d'Études Camerounaises.	Race Rel.	Race Relations.
CC	Crown Colonist.	SAJS	South African Journal of Science
EAAJ	East African Agricultural Journal.	SAO	South African Outlook.
		TNR	Tanganyika Notes and Records.
		WAR	West African Review.

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